

Mark's Marxism



Mark's Marxism

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Author's Preface

I have been a student of social protest since I was 12-13 years of age. I had read and studied The Communist Manifesto while in high school. My history teacher, Mr. Joe Elder encouraged a broader understanding of our world around us. To critically and analytically dissect history.

The first thing I learned from Karl Marx was his and Engels writings were based on a scientific approach. Marxism is not an absolute. It changes with cultures, time, and generations. Concepts of Marxist theories also must evolve through time. It is not a cookie cutter mold for everything.

The word science is defined as: a noun the intellectual and practical activity encompassing the systematic study of the structure and behaviour of the physical and natural world through observation and experiment.

synonyms: branch of knowledge, body of knowledge/information/facts, area of study, discipline, field a particular area of science.

plural noun: sciences

a systematically organized body of knowledge on a particular subject.

"the science of criminology"

John Holloway, in his book from 2002, ***Change the World without taking power***, says this:

The classic claim for the scientific character of Marxism in the mainstream tradition is Engels' pamphlet, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, which probably did more than any other work to define 'Marxism'. Criticism of scientificism in the Marxist tradition often takes the form of a critique of Engels, but, in fact, the 'scientific' tradition is far more deep-rooted than that would suggest. It certainly finds expression in some of Marx's own writings (most famously in the '1859 Preface' to his Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy), and is developed in the 'classical' era of Marxism by writers as diverse as Kautsky, Lenin, Luxemburg and Pannekoek. Although Engels' writings possibly have relatively few

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explicit defenders today, the tradition which Engels represents continues to provide the unspoken and unquestioned assumptions upon which a great deal of Marxist discussion is based. In what follows, our principal concern is not who said what, but to draw out the main constituents of the scientific tradition.

In speaking of Marxism as 'scientific', Engels means that it is based on an understanding of social development that is just as exact as the scientific understanding of natural development. The course of both natural and human development is characterised by the same constant movement: 'When we consider and reflect upon Nature at large or the history of mankind or our own intellectual activity, at first we see the picture of an endless entanglement of relations and reactions, permutations and combinations, in which nothing remains what, where and as it was, but everything moves, changes, comes into being and passes away.... This primitive, naïve but intrinsically correct conception of the world is that of ancient Greek philosophy, and was first clearly formulated by Heraclitus: everything is and is not, for everything is fluid, is constantly changing, constantly coming into being and passing away.' (1968, p. 43, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*)

I have seen through the years, roughly 40 plus years, many left-wing, progressive organizations form only to relegate their theories as absolutes. I personally view Marxism, as a personal theory with personal experiments, that produce results that can be studied and evaluated. Marxism is not an absolute, it is a science. What Marx and Engels wrote and from our understanding of these writing is to form a better compassionate world. Than the one we currently find ourselves in.

Marxism is based on a synthesis of German idealist philosophy, English classical economics and French political theory. Accordingly, it will be assumed in this account of Marxism (Prof Carlo's article is also in a 2008 Communist Party commemorative volume) that its essence comprises three elements; first, dialectical materialism which derives, paradoxically enough, from Hegel's idealist philosophy. The second element is socio-economic analysis of capitalism which is based on English classical economics. The third element is a commitment to socialism of a particular

form which comes from French politics. (Carlo Fonseka, “Is Marxism Science?” Sunday Island, 6 May 2012)¹.

The Monthly Review article goes on to state:

Many “Marxists” are not even aware that the old boy never enunciated a programme for socialism/communism. Except for half a dozen tantalising aphorisms, he kept options open ended, as any sane person would do, so far ahead. (He knew he was far ahead of his time). Here are three of his oft quoted mottos.

“From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs” (Gotha Programme).

“In place of class antagonisms, we have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all” (Manifesto).

“In communist society each can become accomplished; society regulates the general production and makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, to fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticize after dinner, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic” (German Ideology).

Thus my approach to this book, is my thoughts on what Marx meant by living in a scientific socialist communist community.

¹ <http://bit.ly/MarxismScience>

PREFACE: Fellowship with Man

It was a rainy blackish night as we drove from Applegate, CA to Sacramento, CA to visit our friend Mike. He was a legendary character from the 1960's who is a mystic. We use to call his home in Sacramento the Magic Monastery. Kent, Mike and myself would sit up for hours, leading up to 4 or 5 in the morning. Discussing Buddhism, meditation, Don Juan books, and of course the I-Ching by Hellmut Wilhelm translated into english by Cary F. Baynes.

Now this book, and Michael's explanation was not only electrifying to hear but his words sent fire synaps all throughout my body. Through the years, I have used the I Ching for very auspicious projects I have initiated. It always has served me well.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Before writing this book, I inquired about my writing with the I Ching. The answer I received was I Ching Hexagram 13 T'ung Jen (Fellowship)

Action: Socialize

Hu Gua (hidden influence) 44
Coming to Meet: Encounter

Zong Gua (underlying cause)
7 Army: Correct Discipline

If you understand nature's symmetries,

you will use no counting rods.

Humankind has not woven the web of life.

We are but one thread within it.

Whatever we do to the web, we do to ourselves. - Chief Seattle

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Reading at a Glance: T'ung Jen is a hexagram that explores your principles, character, integrity, and how you interact with others. In joining with another, the relationship will allow you to share a special connection, but is not always a romantic or harmonious interaction. This is because there is more of an emphasis on gaining Clarity about how you behave in relationship to others. Yet, there is a lot to learn from these partnerships. We are often attracted to groups because of our shared interests. Once in the group however, we discover the ways in which we are different. The hidden influence of Coming to Meet allows for the exploration of the Shadow in your relationships. It is an opportunity to own the dynamics you bring to your relationships rather than blame others for your condition. If you can discover even the smallest insight about yourself through a relationship, regardless of its duration, it has been successful. Moving away from the underlying cause of Army, we had the opportunity to put individual expression aside to work as a Team. Now partnerships have to be viewed in terms of how you can best serve them while discovering more about yourself. Fellowship places emphasis on socializing so if you have been introspective, it is time to return to the group. There is a sense of caring and emotional well being at play as you interact with others. If you are isolated from others, Fellowship is a call to realize that no person is an island. We are part of a tapestry of interaction, yet each individual fulfills their own destiny. Fellowship presents a relationship with an emphasis on what it can teach you about yourself.

“Heaven together with fire: the image of fellowship.” The Clinging Flame reflects the Creative fire and sparkles like stars that mark cosmic time and order. T'ung Jen is a message that asks you to overcome feeling separate from everything around you. Discover your connection to others and transcend the boundaries that separate you from life.

The master said: “Everything in the universe is interacting and exchanging energy in some way.” Although you cannot see nature’s symmetries and connectivity, they are there. “One who understands the activities of Nature, uses no counting rods.” The meaning of one thing can only be understood in relation to what stands next to, and influences it.

Fellowship provides the opportunity to merge with the whole to understand the importance of the part you play within it. Let go of the limitations that hold you back from seeing your unity with all that unfolds

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around you. If you are experiencing rejection, check to see that you are not stalking the relationship with a fear of abandonment.

The planets moving through constellations in a fixed rhythm above demonstrated a predictable method of marking time for the ancients. Observing these cycles provided the knowledge of when to plant and harvest, allowing civilization to thrive. While these patterns reveal our dependency on what is taking place above, it also shows the outline or behavior of a larger organism connected to what is below.

All people are complex networks of cells, but we only recognize them in one form. Your perception makes distinctions in the natural world that are not necessarily there. In the same way, you can project qualities on others from past experiences or repressed fears that make a person appear different than what they really are. Interacting in social circles allows you to learn about yourself through your differences to identify your unique gifts. You sometimes discover your deficiencies too, or uncover unhealthy dynamics that you carry forward into relationships. Fellowship can be a learning journey through interaction.

In the image of quietly knowing, without being able to describe it, when you give and receive through others, you are able to move beyond your self-limiting structures and orientation to life. Through giving you learn more about yourself. Through self love or opening to love, you find it was there all along.

“Life becomes brilliant when purpose is a light that shines upon it.” You are not made meaningless and irrelevant. On the contrary, by becoming a part of the group or joining in an attitude of caring and service to others, you are awakened to greater meaning and purpose in life.

Unchanging: What you seek of others is really your gift to give = offer it freely. Fellowship unchanging can mean that you are not being social enough or social situations are causing you frustration. However, something deeper is going on with you that has nothing to do with others. You may be approaching a new type of social interaction and are not sure how to act or what will be expected of you. Examine your attitude about associating with others. If you receive this in relation to a romantic enquiry, the message can be that there is a connection, but it is not a passionate one, and probably will remain platonic. Ensure that you are associating with people who are right for you.

Line 1 People meet at the gate = a superficial connection but nothing wrong. Changes to (33) Retreat. Fellowship has success at the beginning only because the connection is superficial or based on serving mutual interests. This partial involvement does not offer much in the way of personal needs. The gate combined with Retreat can show a lack of deeper connection. The interaction could lead to deeper personal growth but barriers prevent this from occurring.

Line 2 People meet in a clique = shutting others out is not good. Changes to (1) Creative. In any group or partnership remaining exclusive or shutting others out will prevent the dynamic input of diversity. The Creative can only manifest by allowing for the innovative and even the conflicted energy of different opinions working like friction to create the fire of creativity. When the opportunity to grow through interaction is presented, one chooses to stay within familiar circles.

Line 3 Weapons hidden in thicket = mistrusting others is not good. Changes to (25) Innocence. This can show the influence of defensiveness or fear in interacting with others. A change in attitude is called for that releases judgment and preconceptions. While this barrier exists, Fellowship is blocked. An innocent outlook is the only way to Fellowship.

Line 4 Climbing a wall but not attacking = reconciliation emerging. Changes to (37) Family. Erecting walls creates a barrier for protection, but one does not retaliate and reconciliation is considered. The wall can symbolize the need for healthy boundaries which needs to be respected. Family suggests that discussion and clarifying expectations and roles may help bring about union.

Line 5 People cry, then laugh = after a struggle a meeting occurs. Changes to (30) Clarity. While you may feel outwardly separated from someone, in your hearts you remain connected. Regardless of the obstacles keeping you apart, Fellowship emerges again. Clarity shows the synergistic connection among people connected in Spirit. Because of the vicissitudes of emotional interaction, the connection grows deeper.

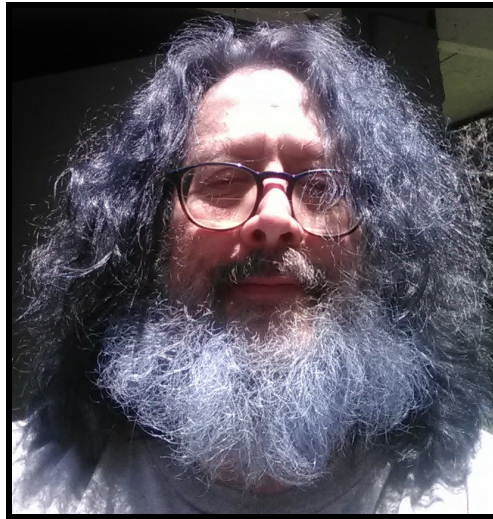
Line 6 People outside the city = distance prevents Fellowship. Changes to (49) Molting/Revolution. Warmth and connection is missing from Fellowship

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as people are interacting with a sense of distance. The connection may be bringing about transformation but there is an aloof quality to the interaction. Dislike isn't the issue as the connection isn't very strong. The chance for deeper intimacy can only occur through personal transformation.

I was amazed at how this hexagram beautifully laid out the intent of what I was hoping for this new book. It is my hope that my explanation of my understanding of Marxism will inspire you to seek a more emphatically living lifestyle that will bless all of humankind.

June 19, 2019 Mark D. Maxey



Fellowship with Man

The first part of understanding Hexagram 13 is to remember its brief explanation. T'ung Jen is a hexagram that explores your principles, character, integrity, and how you interact with others. In joining with another, the relationship will allow you to share a special connection, but is not always a romantic or harmonious interaction. This is because there is more of an emphasis on gaining Clarity about how you behave in relationship to others. Yet, there is a lot to learn from these partnerships. We are often attracted to groups because of our shared interests. Once in the group however, we discover the ways in which we are different. The hidden influence of Coming to Meet allows for the exploration of the Shadow in your relationships. It is an opportunity to own the dynamics you bring to your relationships rather than blame others for your condition.

No matter what culture, religious thoughts you may have, we are all placed on this earth at this time. Every culture has a mythos of their creation myths. These myths formed with each culture to form the nucleus of their role and relationship with the world and each other. It would be a better world if we could live in harmony and peace through scientific socialism. That is what Karl Marx and Engels envisioned when they wrote ***The Communist Manifesto*** in 1897. 122 years later, we still have missed the key point that Marx/Engels had discovered. They scientifically examined society from the starting point of written records up to then present day 1890's. It was a culmination of analyzation of data and research. That book spun out of control being translated into many languages and changed the face of recorded history. Though not all endeavors to bring their theory to light was successful. It does not negate the corrective instructions they laid out in their summations.

“People say that what we're all seeking is a meaning for life. I don't think that's what we're really seeking. I think that what we're seeking is an experience of being alive, so that our life experiences on the purely physical plane will have resonances within our own innermost being and reality, so that we actually feel the rapture of being alive.”

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— Joseph Campbell, The Power of Myth²

To begin we must first understand the work of research Marx and Engels brought to the table through The Communist Manifesto. The Communist Manifesto, written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, was first published in 1848. It formed the basis for the modern communist movement as we know it, arguing that capitalism would inevitably self-destruct, to be replaced by socialism and ultimately communism.

But before we delve into that, we must first look at our archeological and historical data regarding the Indigenous tribes. The Indigenous nations thrived and survived on the North American continent for over 100,000 years.

These nomadic and regional Indigenous nations had populations as high as 100,000 people. “These early populations are really blasting across the continent,” says David Meltzer, an archaeologist at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, who co-led the Science study³. Although some indigenous peoples of the Americas were traditionally hunter-gatherers—and many, especially in the Amazon basin, still are—many groups practiced aquaculture and agriculture. The impact of their agricultural endowment to the world is a testament to their time and work in reshaping and cultivating the flora indigenous to the Americas.[27] Although some societies depended heavily on agriculture, others practiced a mix of farming, hunting and gathering. In some regions the indigenous peoples created monumental architecture, large-scale organized cities, city-states, chiefdoms, states, kingdoms and empires. Among these are the Aztec, Inca and Maya states that until the 16th century were among the most politically and socially advanced nations in the world. They had a vast knowledge of engineering, architecture, mathematics, astronomy, writing, physics, medicine, planting and irrigation, geology, mining, sculpture and goldsmithing⁴.

Cultural traits brought by the first immigrants later evolved and spawned such cultures as Iroquois on North America and Pirahã of South America. These cultures later developed into civilizations. In many cases, these cultures expanded at a later date than their Old World counterparts. Cultures that may be considered[citation needed] advanced or civilized

² <http://bit.ly/31FxnNE>

³ <https://go.nature.com/2MX41ag>

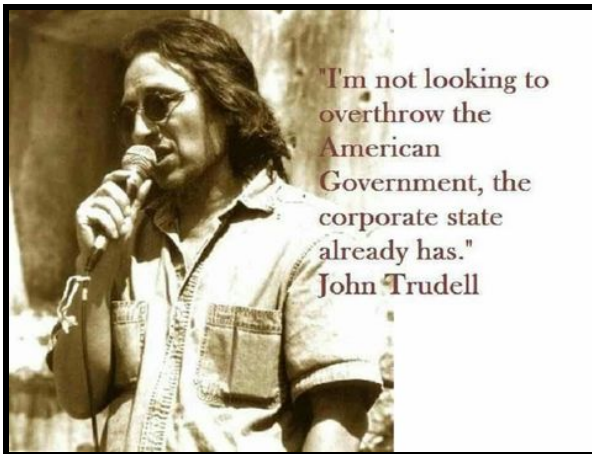
⁴ <http://bit.ly/2XUe3tL>

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include Norte Chico, Cahokia, Zapotec, Toltec, Olmec, Maya, Aztec, Chimor, Mixtec, Moche, Mississippian, Puebloan, Totonac, Teotihuacan, Huastec people, Purépecha, Izapa, Mazatec, Muisca, and the Inca⁵.

These Indigenous tribes had men societies, boy societies, women societies, and every voice was heard before the Chief made their decisions. It was a collective cooperation that allowed Indigenous cultures to survive on this continent for over 100,000 years.

These Indigenous cultures protected the natural resources, nourished the agricultural needs of their tribes, everyone had a job or task to do, and they formed a unique community. They did this with no land ownership, no monetary means, and when traveling to seasonal locations, they made sure what they left behind would sustain another tribe who might stay while they were gone. This is a perfect example and predates the summations of Marx and Engels. Yet it reflects that their theory is based on scientific understanding of pre-historic Indigenous history.



John Trudell, Indigenous rights social activist said:

I think I want to talk a little bit about who we are. Because see reality is based upon our perception of reality. It's what it is. But we really need to understand that see, and I think one of the objectives in life is to understand. It's not enough to know, right? I know how to turn on the TV but I can't even begin to

understand how it works. So it's not enough to know.

So I think one of the purposes that life teaches us is, the further we make it into life, the more coherency we have left and we will understand. Sometimes I feel like I'm in a reality where I'm surrounded by all these beings that don't know who they are. They

⁵ <http://bit.ly/2KqVk67>

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don't know who they are. And because they don't know who they are, they don't know where they are, they don't understand the language that they speak, so there's a general confusion and chaos that just takes place in their reality⁶.

Trudell goes on to say in the same article:

So anyway, who we are. We're human beings. And the DNA of the human being - my bone, flesh, and blood is literally made up of the metals, minerals, and liquids of the Earth. We are literally shapes and forms of the Earth. That's who we are. And we have being.

Our being comes from our relationship to the Sun, and to the universe. Because our relationship to the Sun - I mean let's be, you know, be very coherent and clear about this: without the Sun we would not have life. Alright, it's almost like the rays of light that the Sun represents and brings to the Earth, see, this is the sperm that gives life to the womb that the Earth is.

So our relationship to power and our relationship to the reality of power is connected to that relationship. Anyway, what I see, the human, the being part of human is being mined through the human experience. See they're mining us.

Karl Marx and Engels envisioned communities living peacefully, self governing, self productive, and were the care takers of the natural resources. This is socialism, this is communism they envisioned. It has its roots in the ethnocentric history of the Indigenous nations. So we know it works, it can work, and it can still bring positive changes to our society.

If we can grasp this, then we can see the validity of searching and experimenting ourselves locally, within a new community built upon the theories of the Indigenous people and Marx & Engels.

This also relates to the 13th Hexagram of the I Ching. Kinda mystical in a way but it shows the thread of symbiotic relationship we have with the world around us. As intended by the great creator.

⁶ <http://bit.ly/2WWCeXm>

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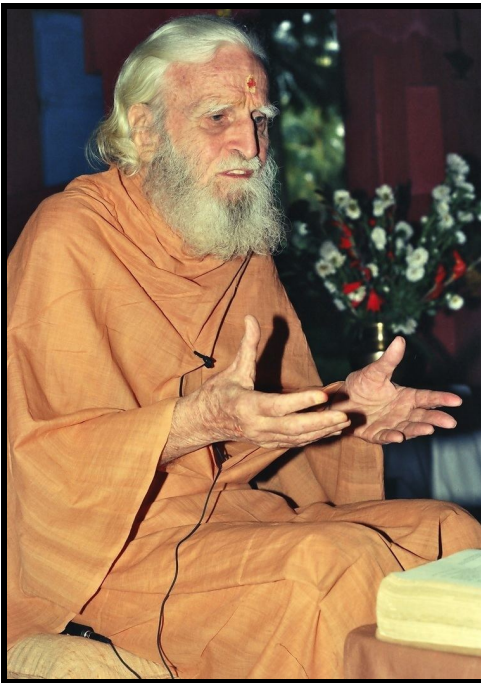
T'ung Jen is a hexagram that explores your principles, character, integrity, and how you interact with others. In joining with another, the relationship will allow you to share a special connection.

So this journey begins.



Coming to Meet

Here in America, and obviously the other countries as well, we have lost the art of living in community. Marx and Engels intended that local communities be in control of the ways and means of production. The local community would collectively control the natural resources and monitor how much of those resources businesses could use. Same manner in which the Indigenous nations operated.



Fr. Bede Griffiths, recounts his living in community after college in England. Griffiths was born in Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, England, at the end of 1906, the youngest of three children of a middle-class family. Shortly after Griffiths' birth, his father was betrayed by a business partner and was left penniless. His mother took the children and established residence in a smaller home which she maintained, though she had to find work to support herself and the children. At age 12, Griffiths was sent to Christ's Hospital, a school for poor boys.[2] The students of this school were nicknamed "bluecoats". He excelled in his studies and earned a scholarship to

the University of Oxford where, in 1925, he began his studies in English literature and philosophy at Magdalen College. In his third year at university he came under the tutelage of C. S. Lewis, who became a lifelong friend. Griffiths graduated from Oxford in 1929 with a degree in journalism.

Shortly after graduation Griffiths, with fellow Oxford alumni Martyn Skinner and Hugh Waterman, settled in a cottage in the Cotswolds and began what they called an "experiment in common living".[3] They followed a lifestyle attuned to nature, milking cows and selling the milk to

support themselves. They would read the Bible together as a form of literature. Griffiths noted a strong connection between the teachings of Scripture and the rhythm of the nature around them. The experiment lasted less than a year, as one of the friends found the life too demanding. Nevertheless, the experience had a strong effect on Griffiths⁷.

Bede Griffiths was a man with a universal heart. He had no guile and saw no guile in others. He honored the sacredness of every person because he believed so deeply that each person is a unique image of the divine. With Ruusbroec, Fr. Bede believed that “God’s work in the emptiness of the soul is eternal.” He all but saw that “spark of God” in everyone. He loved to describe the divine processions within: the Father in Self-reflection bringing forth His Word, His divine Image in pure consciousness in perfect bliss: self-knowing and self-giving. And the whole creation comes to its fullness in this intimacy, this relationship of love. Fr. Bede was fascinated by the Trinitarian Mystery, and even more so by the possibilities the Hindu doctrine of Saccidananda presented our Christian theology. (Cf. *Toward a Christian Vedanta*, by Wayne Teasdale)⁸.

Coming to meet first in the United States, must come from a spiritual connection. I make no relationship to any one or none of religious paths. In fact, contrary to many beliefs, communism is not antiChrist. Marxism is not about atheism, Chairman Gus Hall was famous for saying, “Our quarrel is with capitalism, not God.” Karl Marx was absolute in opposing oppression and not religion. However, a true Marxist is about the workers and their rights. Religion should not necessarily be a focal point in our struggles, but to each their own. But my focus is on the oppression. Oppression keeps us struggling for our rights/dignity which keeps us from working for a more loving peaceful existence.

Hexagram 13 clarifies this concept with their explanation of Coming to Meet⁹.

“Life becomes brilliant when purpose is a light that shines upon it.”
You are not made meaningless and irrelevant. On the contrary, by becoming a part of the group or joining in an attitude of caring and

⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bede_Griffiths

⁸ <http://www.bede-griffiths.com/bede-griffiths/>

⁹ <http://bit.ly/Hexagram13>

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service to others, you are awakened to greater meaning and purpose in life.

Unchanging: What you seek of others is really your gift to give = offer it freely. Fellowship unchanging can mean that you are not being social enough or social situations are causing you frustration. However, something deeper is going on with you that has nothing to do with others. You may be approaching a new type of social interaction and are not sure how to act or what will be expected of you. Examine your attitude about associating with others. If you receive this in relation to a romantic enquiry, the message can be that there is a connection, but it is not a passionate one, and probably will remain platonic. Ensure that you are associating with people who are right for you.

Line 1 **People meet at the gate = a superficial connection but nothing wrong.** Changes to (33) Retreat. Fellowship has success at the beginning only because the connection is superficial or based on serving mutual interests. This partial involvement does not offer much in the way of personal needs. The gate combined with Retreat can show a lack of deeper connection. The interaction could lead to deeper personal growth but barriers prevent this from occurring.

Line 2 **People meet in a clique = shutting others out is not good.** Changes to (1) Creative. In any group or partnership remaining exclusive or shutting others out will prevent the dynamic input of diversity. The Creative can only manifest by allowing for the innovative and even the conflicted energy of different opinions working like friction to create the fire of creativity. When the opportunity to grow through interaction is presented, one chooses to stay within familiar circles.

Coming to meet is exactly that. Establishing healthy emotional communication with those you live within community. I've always like the transliteration of that word. Come Unity, community. As previously stated, the Communist Manifesto explains the hallmarks of communism. In it, Engels and Marx shared the belief that at the basis of all history and social conflict is the struggle between classes. The wealthier class, known as the bourgeoisie, were those who owned the means of production.

Kenneth A. Megill, author of, *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* Vol. 30, No. 3 (Mar., 1970), pp. 382-393 wrote on Marx and Engels idea of community¹⁰.

Marx and Engels wrote *The German Ideology*, in 1846 but published in 1932. Here in their section on community they say:

It follows from all we have been saying up till now that the communal relationship into which the individuals of a class entered, and which was determined by their common interests over against a third party, was always a community to which these individuals belonged only as average individuals, only insofar as they lived within the conditions of existence of their class -- a relationship in which they participated not as individuals but as members of a class. With the community of revolutionary proletarians, on the other hand, who take their conditions of existence and those of all members of society under their control, it is just the reverse; it is as individuals that the individuals participate in it. It is just this combination of individuals (assuming the advanced stage of modern productive forces, of course) which puts the conditions of the free development and movement of individuals under their control -- conditions which were previously abandoned to chance and had won an independent existence over against the separate individuals just because of their separation as individuals, and because of the necessity of their combination which had been determined by the division of labour, and through their separation had become a bond alien to them. Combination up till now (by no means an arbitrary one, such as is expounded for example in the *Contrat social*, but a necessary one) was an agreement upon these conditions, within which the individuals were free to enjoy the freaks of fortune (compare, e.g., the formation of the North American State and the South American republics). This right to the undisturbed enjoyment, within certain conditions, of fortuity and chance has up till now been called personal freedom. These conditions of existence are, of course, only the productive forces and forms of intercourse at any particular time¹¹.

¹⁰ <http://bit.ly/2MWE3UI>

¹¹ <http://bit.ly/GermanIdeology>

Megill¹² goes on to state in his paper the following.

In the following discussion of the community it must be kept clearly in mind that the community is the democratic form of association, the space in which political life goes on, rather than an ideal or goal which must be "put into practice." To create the community for Marx means that community life will be developed. The democratic form of association which replaces the state is the community for Marx.

Within Marx's works the concept of community as the democratic form of association is developed in three different ways:

- I. The community as a primitive form of association. The precapitalist community as a limited, enclosed, area-bound form of association.
- II. The community as the stateless society. The universal community as the concrete democratic community and the "form and dynamic principle" of the future.
- III. The community as a way of being. Man as a communal animal who can only achieve his complete existence through community.

By examining each of these ways in which the concept of community is used by Marx, it will become clearer what Engels meant when he and Marx proposed replacing the term community for the more traditional concept of state.

I. The Community as a Primitive Form of Association

The history of man is the history of the individualization of man for Marx. The process of individualization is accomplished by the development of an industrialized society which creates the conditions for the universal democratic community:

The further we go back into history, the more the individual and, therefore, the producing individual seems to depend on and constitute a part of a larger whole It is but in the eighteenth century, in "bourgeois society" (civil society) that the different forms of social union confront the individual as a mere means to his private ends, as an outward necessity . . . Man is in the most literal sense of the word a *zoon politikon*, not only a social animal, but an animal which can develop into an individual only in society.⁷

So we begin to see how through scientific research we can see how society first built community through the development of an industrialized society which creates the conditions for the universal democratic community. We can agree upon that summation just by our own intellect. Understanding this concept, we can see how communism as idealized by Marx and Engels encompasses this understanding. So a democratic community of the working class will always produce a sustainable community.

The hard part is learning compromise, mediation, and living within the framework of a democratic community. In my recent book, *It's Capitalism*, I spoke upon the issue of fractionalized groups.

¹² Megill, Kenneth A. "The Community in Marx's Philosophy." *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, vol. 30, no. 3, 1970, pp. 382–393. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2105603

Mark Maxey

“If everyone who identifies as a leftist, were to receive a call today that the revolution started tomorrow, 9 am, no one would know what to do,” Mark Maxey, National Coordinator for League of American Writers said. “The left is fractionated, too broad with no clear plan.”

The answer lies with Crushing Capitalism, Maxey reflected. The root cause of 100% of our global issues leads to a direct path of capitalism.

“War, lack of world peace, wage disparity, union busting, denying human rights, environmental ills, class dividing are all products of capitalism.

So often, good hearted folks have the right intentions but allow egos and unresolved conflicts to divide their efforts. We must learn to work together in community. One such way is when I was first introduced to the Muslim Sufi tradition of conflict resolution by sitting under the Palaver tree. In the fall of 2013 Oklahoma City University hosted the lecturer, Michael Covitt, and his documentary 333.

Previously Anna Scheid wrote a scholarly paper on this¹³. In the paper she shared the following.

¹³ Scheid, Anna Floerke. “Under the Palaver Tree: Community Ethics for Truth-Telling and Reconciliation.” *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2011, pp. 17–36. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/23562640.

Bénézet Bujo, a Congolese theologian based at the University of Fribourg in Switzerland, can be a resource for answering these questions. His thought is rooted in African contexts but intentionally reaches out to the Western intellectual milieu in which Bujo lives and works. A Roman Catholic theologian committed to the Second Vatican Council's emphasis on inculturation, "Bujo makes room for traditional Africa's own philosophical ethic by challenging the universalisms of western intellectuals in matters of morality."⁴ His theology of inculturation "elaborates on the foundations of . . . an African Christian ethic to create a better understanding of the realities that, from a genuinely black African context, can help Africans connect with and live their Christian faith as well as engage in meaningful dialogue with the rest of the world."⁵ In this spirit of "making room" in the broader theological tradition for African perspectives, Bujo's ethical project introduces us to the West African notion of the palaver.⁶ I contend that the palaver as Bujo describes it can help foster post-conflict reconciliation.

Bujo describes the palaver as space for open communication, by which persons are integrated into the life and expectations of their communities. This space can be physical, as when community members gather under the ancestral tree or at the grave of a deceased family member, but more importantly it is psychological and social space for open communication. Masamba ma Mpolo points to this social dimension of palaver when he calls it "speech that liberates."⁷ The palaver is used to work out solutions to a family's or a community's problems. It is most often manifest, says Mpolo, in "a discussion which could take hours and even days."⁸ Within the palaver, "Discourse was thus raised into a system of jurisdiction and government. The dynamic of palaver permitted free expression; it was possible to pour out one's heart, to give testimony or analyze together a conflict which might endanger the existence, i.e. the life, of the community."⁹ Thus, the palaver is a praxis that supports a community's well-being even through difficult times, making it an excellent resource for pursuing successful postconflict reconciliation. Insofar as it is rooted in a communal anthropology, the palaver is similar to the humanistic philosophy of *ubuntu* championed by South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu.¹⁰ For Tutu, *ubuntu* implies that "my humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up, in yours. . . . I am human because I belong. I participate, I share."¹¹ Just as the philosophy of *ubuntu* has been helpful to South Africans for guiding the work of reconciliation following apartheid, I hope that the notion of the palaver may nurture reconciliation in parts of Africa more familiar with its particular praxis.

Mark Maxey

Michael Covitt¹⁴ spoke on, The Malian Manuscripts: A Priceless Islamic Heritage and shown his documentary 333. Joseph V Micallef of Huffington Post wrote a story on this¹⁵.

For centuries, Timbuktu provided rest alongside the Niger River for travelers journeying across the African Continent. From the 12th through the 16th Centuries, Mali became an intellectual haven for Islamic scholars. The manuscripts produced during that time have survived centuries of unprotected storage in Timbuktu, and only recently came to the attention of the world community.

Michael Covitt was one of the first to recognize the value of these documents, not only as historical artifacts, but also as true Islamic manuscripts professing peaceful resolution of conflict and a world of tolerance, understanding and the dignity of mankind.

Knowledge from the manuscripts have been passed down from one generation to the next for centuries. If your parents were scholars, you were expected to be a scholar. For almost a thousand years, Islamic scholars who reached the pinnacle of learning as “Ambassadors of Peace” have sat daily before sunrise in an assembly called the “Circle of Knowledge,” instructing devotees with lessons and insights derived from these ancient manuscripts.



Ambassadors of Peace in a Circle of Knowledge. They are sitting around a Palaver (Talk) Tree - and will not leave until they have resolved their differences.

Within any community, understanding, peace, and resolving conflicts are necessary. If not the community fractures and becomes useless.

¹⁴ <https://www.malianmanuscriptfoundation.org>

¹⁵ <http://bit.ly/MalianManuscripts>

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Covitt's website¹⁶ gives this added information. Influenced by traditional West African thought and by scholars from around the world, nearly one million Manuscripts of Islamic Doctrine were recorded in Mali from the 12th through 16th Centuries, and have been passed down from generation to generation. These Manuscripts span diverse topics, including: architecture, astronomy, chemistry, healing, history, humility, jurisprudence, legislation, mathematics, medicine, music, mysticism, philosophy, religion, women's rights, children's rights, animal rights, and most important, the peaceful resolution of conflict through dialogue, tolerance, understanding and forgiveness.

In 2013 Covitt spoke at George Washington University¹⁷.

Most of the give-and-take focused upon Mali's Ancient Manuscripts, which were written during Mali's Golden Age from the 12th through 16th Centuries, when Mali was one of the world's wealthiest nations. Long after the talk had ended, the audience was still galvanized talking about Manuscripts. According to Covitt, "The Manuscripts cover nearly every topic under the sun." But he is predominantly interested in the Manuscripts' centuries-old tenets for the peaceful resolution of conflict through dialogue, tolerance, understanding and forgiveness, for they provide hope for the future of our planet and its inhabitants.



Students in Timbuktu studying manuscripts which cover a broad range of subjects, from Astronomy to Islam, law, philosophy and women's rights. (Photo by David West for the Malian Manuscript Foundation)

Washington Post¹⁸ report at this time, "As the manuscripts tell us, conflicts must be resolved not through violence and war, but peacefully, through dialogue, tolerance, understanding and forgiveness," said Michael Covitt, a

¹⁶ <https://www.malianmanuscriptfoundation.org/>

¹⁷ <http://bit.ly/2XZHVZz>

¹⁸ <https://wapo.st/2Rlorlu>

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US entrepreneur and filmmaker who founded the Malian Manuscript Foundation to raise awareness and money for preserving the texts.

One manuscript is entitled “An Argument for Peace” (the collection of texts is still available for viewing online¹⁹). A translation of it says: “The author, a scholar and religious leader, urges warring factions to make peace and live in peace. He supports his argument with quotations from the Koran and allusions to the practice of Muhammad and his companions, which require the faithful to avoid discord, to reconcile, and to live in peace and tolerance.”

I hope this longer explanation of the Palaver tree shows how conflicts can be overcome. To live in community, the community has to have the foundation of peace. Community is part of my dna as I was raised around our traditional Yuchi indigenous ways. Our family has kept our culture, language, ceremonies alive by living in community. So what Marx and Engels talks about to me makes perfect sense.

Another key aspect of coming to meet is the sense of belonging to a community. Indigenous tribes have through the years accomplished this through rites of passage ceremonies. An article from Australia puts it this way²⁰. Anthropologists have long emphasised the centrality of rites of passage in pre-industrial societies because of the way in which they allow members of society to progress through transitional life phases through the use of rituals and ceremonies.

The concept of “rite of passage” was first articulated by Van Gennep in 1929 as part of an attempt to clarify the ritualised practices and ceremonies that cultures develop in order to formalise the leaving of one life phase and the entering of another (Van Gennep 1960). Van Gennep outlined three criteria that characterise a rite of passage:

- the spiritual/symbolic needs of the participants are addressed through engaging in a ritual or ceremony which allows for a “new” construction of self;
- “communitas” is formed through the witnessing of the event by significant others in the community; and

¹⁹ <http://bit.ly/2KYC3lq>

²⁰ <http://bit.ly/2IZfsZR>

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- the ritual incorporates conditions which may challenge the participant physically and relate to moral/cultural teachings intellectually –these conditions are presented as a test of character development and ability to pass through to the next life phase (Van Gennep 1960).

While other studies have identified similar criteria, the recognition of such social practices has not been confined to anthropology. Sociologists have also acknowledged the mechanisms that alleviate the tensions associated with transitional phases and major changes in industrial societies (see Teather 1999).

I personally think that communities develop their own rites of passage, and communal ceremonies that reflect that particular communities make up. Again this is a science, it will need experiments. What works for one community might not work for another. You have to be flexible and bend with the changes that nature brings.

Back to Hexagram 13. **Line 3 Weapons hidden in thicket = mistrusting others is not good.** Changes to (25) Innocence. This can show the influence of defensiveness or fear in interacting with others. A change in attitude is called for that releases judgment and preconceptions. While this barrier exists, Fellowship is blocked. An innocent outlook is the only way to Fellowship.

Line 4 Climbing a wall but not attacking = reconciliation emerging. Changes to (37) Family. Erecting walls creates a barrier for protection, but one does not retaliate and reconciliation is considered. The wall can symbolize the need for healthy boundaries which needs to be respected. Family suggests that discussion and clarifying expectations and roles may help bring about union.

Line 5 People cry, then laugh = after a struggle a meeting occurs. Changes to (30) Clarity. While you may feel outwardly separated from someone, in your hearts you remain connected. Regardless of the obstacles keeping you apart, Fellowship emerges again. Clarity shows the synergistic connection among people connected in Spirit. Because of the vicissitudes of emotional interaction, the connection grows deeper.

Pretty amazing how clarity of community can be seen from Lines 1-5 of this hexagram. It perfectly fits the model of community as expressed by Palaver Tree reconciliation ceremony.

If Indigenous cultures have lived in peace, and worked diligently towards reconciliation, socialism is quite succulent. Why would we want a society based upon greed, when we could have a society based on empathy and compassion? Capitalism has rooted itself into countries and lands. It has destroyed our planet, our climate, our health, everything. It is a cancerous disease that destroys natural resources, the working class, and our climate.

Indigenous cultures by nature, by their dna, have always been caretakers of the natural resources. Protecting the balances in nature, animal kingdom, and water resources. There was no pollution, smog, sickness due to coal dust. The list goes on and on with how capitalist minded companies only concern was the dollar. The natural resources and climate they damaged they had no empathy for this. Yet the Indigenous cultures lived with a symbiotic relationship with all that surrounded its community. This is the type of community Marx and Engels envisioned with the term communism. The spin and brainwashing capitalist media and governments gave negatively associated with the word communism.

As an Indigenous citizen, and also attending public schools, I know there is a difference between the truth my elders speak of history and that which is in the textbooks used in history. So much of what is taught is not the honest truth as it relates to historical events. What is the old saying, ... History is written by the victors of wars. To fully grasp what Marx and Engels wrote you have to really unschool yourself. You also must have a healthy portion of analytic reasoning, dialectical reasoning.

Again I stress the truth, in this, socialism, communism, getting back to communal living is not going to be an overnight step. We must dialogue as a community. Make sure we all are on the same page with understanding our communal functions. All this must be done collectively, wholeheartedly, and intentionally by all members of the community. Again, not naive, I know oral communication skills is a dying thing. But it's vital, it is the blood that flows within communities. We must communicate, understand, dialogue, interact, socialize, live together for the communal good. This is not a foreign thought...it's been done for 100,000 years.

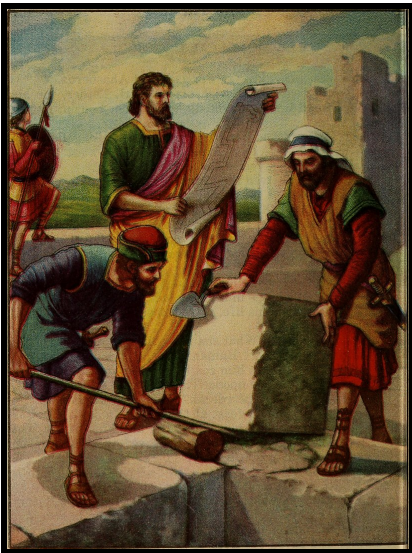
People Outside the City

Line 6 of the hexagram states: **Line 6 People outside the city = distance prevents Fellowship.** Changes to (49) Molting/Revolution. Warmth and connection is missing from Fellowship as people are interacting with a sense of distance. The connection may be bringing about transformation but there is an aloof quality to the interaction. Dislike isn't the issue as the connection isn't very strong. The chance for deeper intimacy can only occur through personal transformation.

The reason for a geographical city should be restricted to 500-1000 citizens. If it is bigger than this, it can become as Line 6 states. The further away folks live, especially closer to another community, the easy it is to interfere with the natural transformation process of a community.

For this model, let's look at how this might work. A community of 500 folks would break down their needs with the availability of the natural resources at hand. One family would provide the dairy, one family would provide the meat, one family the eggs and chickens, several would do the agricultural

work for the community. This is one of the oldest models of how Indigenous communities thrived and survived. It is also the model given to us through biblical means as well.



Nehemiah rebuilding Jerusalem by Hult, Adolf, 1869-1943;Augustana synod [from old catalog].

I am also an Eastern Orthodox deacon with an autocephalous Russian Orthodox lineage. I would delivery the homilies and yearly retell the story of community through Nehimiah's eyes. Nemiah 2nd chapter through 3rd chapter describes how communities can come together.

Especially the 3rd chapter²¹. Certain families were responsible for certain tasks in the rebuilding of the walls.

Nehemiah is the central figure of the Book of Nehemiah, which describes his work in rebuilding Jerusalem during the Second Temple period. He was governor of Persian Judea under Artaxerxes I of Persia[1] (c. 5th century BC). It is in Hebrew נְחֵמְיָה, Nehemya, "Yahweh comforts".



The Desert Fathers²² (along with Desert Mothers) were early Christian hermits, ascetics, and monks who lived mainly in the Scetes desert of Egypt beginning around the third century AD. The *Apophthegmata Patrum* is a collection of the wisdom of some of the early desert monks and nuns, in print as *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*. The most well known was Anthony the Great, who moved to the desert in AD 270-271 and became known as both the father and founder of desert monasticism. By the time Anthony died in AD 356, thousands of monks and nuns had been drawn to living in the desert following Anthony's example—his biographer, Athanasius of Alexandria, wrote that "the desert had become a city." The Desert Fathers had a major influence on the development of Christianity.

The desert monastic communities that grew out of the informal gathering of hermit monks became the model for Christian monasticism. The eastern monastic tradition at Mount Athos and the western Rule of Saint Benedict both were strongly influenced by the traditions that began in the desert. All of the monastic revivals of the Middle Ages looked to the desert for inspiration and guidance. Much of Eastern Christian spirituality, including the Hesychast movement, had its roots in the practices of the Desert Fathers. Even religious renewals such as the German evangelicals and Pietists in

²¹ <http://bit.ly/3Nehemiah>

²² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Desert_Fathers

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Pennsylvania, the Devotio Moderna movement, and the Methodist Revival in England are seen by modern scholars as being influenced by the Desert Fathers.

These Desert Father's came from Indigenous tribal clans as well, and sustained themselves for centuries under the model of communal living. This area is bordered by Jordan to the east and Israel and the West Bank to the west. It lies in the Jordan Rift Valley, and its main tributary is the Jordan River. The monastic communities stretched from here to Egypt.

Many Americans feel threatened for unknown reasons when it comes to the concept of communal living. Though the counter culture community during the 60's was patterned off this model as well. So we have numerous accounts of communal living thriving, and sustaining itself right here in North America.

The western expansion dramatized by such books and television shows as Little House on the Prairie is another illustration of intentional communities. It is how the original cities and towns across America were set up. Somewhere along the way in the past 200 years we have lost the societal concept of acceptance in living in an intentional community. We have lost our connection to that shared past. So what Marx and Engels envisioned is not a foreign concept to the history of our civilization. We have just lost consciousness of this dna strand from shared collective society.

How this ties into the Line 6 of the hexagram is simple. **Line 6 People outside the city = distance prevents Fellowship.** Each community is in and of itself singular. The geographical boundaries is one community. The how, what, where, and why of forming a community is left to those setting it up. The concept of having a governing state is counter intuitive for communities. Our eyes and focus should be on our own community not what another is doing or how they may do it differently. People outside the community prevents fellowship. This is a statement of fact not to be overlooked. When we try to wiggle our way from being self determined we give up our inalienable right to self govern. Our fellowship may reach beyond the scope of our community, but our focus of fellowship is the intentional community we live in.

Liberate Oppression

Marxism is not about atheism, Chairman Gus Hall²³ was famous for saying, “Our quarrel is with capitalism, not God.” Karl Marx was absolute in opposing oppression and not religion. However, a true Marxist is about the workers and their rights. Religion should not necessarily be a focal point in our struggles, but to each their own. But my focus is on the oppression. Oppression keeps us struggling for our rights/dignity which keeps us from working for a more loving peaceful existence.

Each culture has their own creation mythology²⁴. The Judeo-Christian beliefs are those of the tribe Israel. Yet the oldest known culture are the Sumerians²⁵ which predates Jewish cosmology by thousands of years. Within the Sumerian cosmology are a flood, savior born, death, and resurrection. The Jewish retelling of this mythos does not negate it's possible truth but yet presents itself to their own cosmos.

Fr. Bede Griffiths, a Benedictine monk who spoke of the perennial wisdom²⁶. This perspective in modern spirituality which views each of the world's religious traditions as sharing a single, metaphysical truth or origin from which all esoteric and exoteric knowledge and doctrine have grown. Fr. Bedelived amongst Hindus in India and developed a synergy of Catholic and Hindu rites and spirituality. His approach was a social paradox that embraced different cultures to live communally in peace and democratic manner. Which is to say, very Marxist.

The Basic Principles of Marxism - Critique Sociale²⁷

Marxism is a way of thinking critically, but it is not a “system”: “I have never established a ‘socialist system’”, Karl Marx wrote in his “Notes on Adolph Wagner’s Lehrbuch der politician Ökonomie” (1880). Marxism is the

²³ <http://lilleskole.us/school/abcs/religion.htm>

²⁴ <http://www.cs.williams.edu/~lindsey/myths/myths.html>

²⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dating_creation

²⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perennial_philosophy

²⁷ <https://libcom.org/library/basic-principles-marxism-critique-sociale>

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analysis of the development of the world as it is, a method that must forge an intimate connection between practice and theory.

Here are the basic principles of Marxism:

- Opposition to an economic system based on inequality and on the alienation and exploitation of the majority (by means of the system of wage labor), a system whose purpose is to obtain profits for some people rather than satisfying the needs of all. This describes capitalism, but one can obviously imagine other systems that would present similar essential characteristics, to which Marxists would be equally opposed.

For the transformation of society, Marxism considers that a revolutionary process that will lead to a society based on cooperation and the free distribution of goods and provision of services is necessary.

- “The emancipation of the workers must be the task of the workers themselves.” This principle is inherent to real Marxism, which implies democracy and self-emancipation; it also means that democracy is the indispensable foundation for a new society (called socialism or communism). This society, liberated from the diverse forms of domination, will have to be freely constructed by its members.
- Internationalism, which is simultaneously the recognition of the common interests of the workers of the entire world and of the need to struggle on a world scale, and of the goal of abolishing nations in the transition to a human world community.
- The knowledge and analysis of History (the materialist conception of history).
- The recognition of the existence of social classes that divide men and women into distinct segments of the population; the recognition of the profound inequalities and injustices that separate these classes; and the recognition that as long as society is divided into classes, there will be conflicts between these classes (the class struggle).

As a result, while they participate in the day-to-day class struggle of the workers, Marxists work on behalf of a reorganization of society that will put an end to this class division.

- The free exercise of the critical spirit. “Doubt everything”, Marx said; for the goal is to perceive reality as it is, in order to understand it better and thus to transform it.

These principles, or some of them, could very well be embraced by other political and social tendencies: if this is the case, then so much the better! Marxism does not attempt to isolate itself, quite the contrary: the goal is to contribute to the constitution of a movement of all of the society for the creation of “an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all” (Karl Marx, The Communist Manifesto).

Critique Sociale

March 12, 2009

That said, let's embrace this thought. For these ideals to be realized the Marxist communists need to join hand in hand with other like minded leftists grassroots organizations. The Marxist followers alone can't realize these goals by themselves. The current progressive organizations (Occupy, Black Lives Matter, AIM, Our Revolution, Sen. Bernie Sanders, etc...) have so much more in common. Joining together helps all of the humankind to eventually live in these Marxists parameters.

Now, hear me out, the other organizations need to also do their part in weeding out from society the neoliberalism and religious fanaticism that leads to oppression. It was oppression that Marx was against, not God. If the true nature of spiritualism, as in the perennial vein, then this nature by the natural order is non oppressive. What is oppressive in religion is legalistic rhetoric which is called ideology. Ideology is ideas, and true Marxism is not about ideas but rather realistic.

[Consider the source of the idea that socialism can never work](#)²⁸

Opponents of socialism, who also go back through the ages, say it can't work. Additionally, they say that socialism is unfair or undemocratic. It is neither, but you can see why a capitalist would say that.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels did not waste a lot of words trying to describe the heavenly benefits of a future socialist society. They published a list of some likely features that included the idea that the main factories and instruments of production would be owned and run democratically by the people.

²⁸ <http://lilleskole.us/school/abcs/socializm.htm>

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Any religious thought that is oppressive is not the true nature of God if one believes in God. Using religion to disqualify Marxist goals nullifies Marx's goals. Oppression at any level denies the true freedom that an individual inherently has. So in a sense, fundamentalism is an oppressive tool to rule over a person instead of bringing out the proletariat qualities in a person.

In Conclusion, part of the struggle we face is relieving the oppression before us. That is realistic. We must keep struggling together. We must speak out when we see oppression of any type. Religion is a choice, but oppression of any kind is not a choice. Our goal is in liberating the oppressed.

Marxist Ideals Alive

The Indigenous cultures survived, thrived and existed for 10's of thousands of years without using property rights nor monetary economics. Both Marx and Engels summarized by analyzing data from their dialectical research of history.

Dialectical research²⁹ or dialectical inquiry or dialectical investigation is a form of qualitative research which utilizes the method of dialectic, aiming to discover truth through examining and interrogating competing ideas, perspectives or arguments. Dialectical research can be seen as a form of exploratory research, in that there is not so much a research hypothesis to be tested, but rather new understandings to be developed.

Dialectical research may also be thought of as the opposite of empirical research, in that the researcher is working with arguments and ideas, rather than data. Indeed Bertell Ollman (1993) argues that all research is either dialectical or nondialectical. Dialectical research may be applied to a range of problems. For instance, Eli Berniker and David McNabb (2006) argue for the application of dialectical research for the study of organizational processes, and James Page (2008) has used a dialectical research method to develop a philosophy of peace education.

When one reviews historical data upon the history of cultures, it is once dissected into two groups. the rich and the working poor. Socialism, communism is and always will be a movement of the working class poor. Two distinct but separate data on two opposite groups of world citizens. Unfortunately the working poor has always been abused and treated as second class citizens.

It is amazing to see such a media heavy spin on this word socialism. The negative connotations is just another form of oligarchies and fascists controlling the minds of society to keep them in subservient mode. Yet much of the history of the USA from the founding fathers to present day has history of socialism thriving. In fact, John Nichols book, *The S Word: A*

²⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dialectical_research

Short History of an American Tradition...Socialism, is a great book³⁰ showcasing the rich history of socialism in America. A Kirkus Review had this to say.

An important reminder of the invaluable strains of socialist thought throughout American political history, from fighting despotism to creating universal health care.

Socialism has become a bad word, feared equally by the left and right, for different political reasons, but mostly because people haven't read the work of Thomas Paine, Walt Whitman or Abraham Lincoln, or learned about the socialist experiments that really worked in America, such as in Milwaukee, Wisc., the author's hometown. The Washington correspondent for the *The Nation*, Nichols (*The Death and Life of American Journalism*) doesn't bother too much with definitions, but allows Emma Lazarus's poem "The New Colossus" on the Statue of Liberty to offer the basic contours of socialist thought: as a "voice against all injustice"—against the exploitation of the poor by the rich and privileged, and toward a just, egalitarian society. Nichols sifts through the work of Whitman, who, though not a "joiner," adored radical journalist Fanny Wright, and possessed a deeply socialist vision, as evidenced in *Leaves of Grass*—e.g., "Love the earth and sun and the animals, despise riches, give alms to everyone that asks, stand up for the stupid and crazy, devote your income and labor to others, hate tyrants." Nichols brilliantly exposes Glenn Beck's acute ignorance of Paine by actually reading and quoting from the impassioned advocate for engaged citizenship. Then the author examines how Congressman Lincoln was highly influenced by the work of Karl Marx, and Milwaukee maintained a proud socialist mayor even through the red scare of the 1950s, while socialist journalist Victor Berger of the *Milwaukee Leader* courageously challenged the constitutionality of the Espionage Act of 1917. Nichols also provides some terrific little-known evidence and excellent rebuttal of the current digs at Barack Obama and others.

Our whole public school system is created to go against the true scientific learning as proposed by dialectical techniques. One needs to first. "unschool"³¹ themselves to process data correctly. The article goes on to

³⁰ <http://bit.ly/SWordNichols>

³¹ <http://bit.ly/unschoolingArticle>

say, “Unschoolers learn from the world around them! Parents provide lots of opportunities and resources for kids to learn in a hands on and real world way. We give them many many experiences so that they have a chance to find what interests them. We support and guide them with whatever they need to do. We involve others in the community, extended family members, and even take classes sometimes, learning from lots of different inspiring people.”



The past political climate around the turn of the century in 1900's the Socialist Party of America was a huge working class entity. In fact in central state of Oklahoma³² had for years been a leader in the socialist movement³³.

Socialism: The collective ownership and democratic management of things collectively used and the private ownership and private management of things privately used.

The Socialist Party of Oklahoma is an integral part of the Socialist Party of the United States. Its principles and program are in harmony with the principles and program of international socialism. It declares itself to be the political organization and political expression of the working class of this state. The party's declared purpose is the securing of the powers of government in Oklahoma as a means to bringing about the collective ownership and democratic management of mines, mills, factories, gins, and means of communication and transportation within the state.

The groups making the upsurge in socialist thoughts came out of the muckraker writings and union organizing that sprang up against the industrialists at the turn of the century. It was not foreign for American's of all social and cultural background the uptick interest of Karl Mark and Engels writings being aggressively translated into various languages. Their

³² <http://bit.ly/3OKsocialistParty>

³³ <http://bit.ly/OKsocialism>

Mark's Marxism

writings were eagerly read and digested for 30 years before a world wide awakening to socialist thoughts. In fact the Socialist Party of America reorganized in 1973, and is thriving across America. Their website is: <https://www.socialistpartyusa.net/> .

You may be asking if socialism is necessary in America in the 2020's. The United States exhibits wider disparities of wealth between rich and poor than any other major developed nation³⁴. Gaps in earnings between America's most affluent and the rest of the country continue to grow year after year. Our world's deepest pockets – "ultra high net worth individuals" – hold an astoundingly disproportionate share of global wealth. Inequality website state: Systemic racism has contributed to the persistence of race-based gaps that manifest in many different economic indicators. The starkest divides are in measures of household wealth, reflecting centuries of white privilege that have made it particularly difficult for people of color to achieve economic security. This series of charts begins with a look at the widening of racial wealth gaps in the United States that have coincided with the extreme concentration of U.S. wealth.

The natives are restless so to speak. The Republican 1970's shift of economic platform changed by the work of evil economist Mitlon Friedman has forced American middle class to bare being seen. The shift was away from the hard fought awards that Unionist gained between 1930-60's. It has taken over 50 years to see the results of this evil plan. The wealth, income, gender, and equality gaps has dwarfed since the 1960's. The upper 10% versus the lower working class of 90% is epochal and historically significant. I am afraid we are at a crossroads on how much more this inequality will be tolerated by the working class until it is violently overthrown. The rapid fire upswing of white nationalism and racism has grown in the past 20 years. All changed after 9/11 terrorist attack and the draconian Patriots Act absorbed many of our freedoms. The cold calculated media message of fear worked for mind control.

Again socialism is not new in America, but as Nichols pointed out in his book, we just don't call it socialism so most Americans are frightened by this adjective. However, if you or your family have been participants of: 1. getting social security benefits, 2. ever drove upon a publicly maintained road, 3. You or your children used public schools, 4. ever had the need to

³⁴ <https://inequality.org/facts/wealth-inequality/>

call 911; then you and your family have benefited by socialist programs. This is not a foreign concept in the past 300 years of history of the United States of America. The Indigenous cultures lived for over 100,000 years upon the North American continent in a socialistic manner. So socialism is an age old concept that many cultures lived and thrived under for 100,000's of years. These facts makes you scratch your head when a true dialectical approach to socialism is looked upon by Americans as being anti-american. While socialism has played a symbiotic relationship with cultures since time memorial.

The union busting techniques to lower membership levels has been an active campaign³⁵ of the Republican party since the early 1970's. In wake of a 50 year implementation, wealth gap, wage inequality, and reduction of dues paying union members have affected the working class citizens in the most negative manner ever in recorded history. Politicians are bought off by the oligarchies business that only see greed in their pursuit of wealth. A cost that not only reduces the wealth of working class citizens, it opens the door for blatant oligarchy and fascism to grow beyond compassionate levels.

Four reasons why unions have decreased is here with this article³⁶. Bryan Keogh wrote an article of The Rise and Fall as well of unions³⁷.

The US labor movement was once the core institution fighting for average workers. Over the last half century, its ranks have been decimated. The share of the private sector workforce that is organized has fallen from 35% to approximately 6.5% today.

An expanding body of research demonstrates just what this loss has meant: the growth of economic and political inequality, stalled progress on racial integration and the removal of an established pathway for immigrant populations to assimilate economically.

Yet despite their decline, unions in the US retain some power in certain pockets of the country. Recent successes by these organizations reveal the importance of a revitalized labor movement for the nation's economic and civic health.

³⁵ <http://bit.ly/WageInequality>

³⁶ <http://bit.ly/4ReasonssDecline>

³⁷ <http://bit.ly/UnionsRiseandFall>

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Our US government has favored the business for years and accepted their bribes to pass legislation. The Washington Post had an article from 2015 on this. Author Harold Myerson³⁸ said this. “Most polling tends to confirm this view of the United States as a house divided. But a new survey of our compatriots’ beliefs from the Public Religion Research Institute (PRRI), which queried a far larger number of respondents than typical polls, has unearthed one area of remarkable agreement: Across party lines, Americans believe that our economic system is rigged to favor the wealthy and big corporations, and that our political system is, too – so much so that by nearly a 2-to-1 margin (64 percent to 36 percent), Americans believe their “vote does not matter because of the influence that wealthy individuals and big corporations have on the electoral process.”

To overcome this fascist upswing, we need to first acknowledge it is here. We must get mad enough to form large groups of social protesters to rally and speak up against all this inequality. History smiles favorably upon US citizens who rise up against oligarchies.

In the appendixes are further reading to help you see how this inequality gaps affect the working poor the most. There is also a Marxist Readers guide that breaks down important books by subjects.

A more compassionate peaceful world controlled by the working class is the answer. Nothing to be scared of, in fact a socialist society framework has over a 100,000 year history with this concept. History is actually in favor of socialist cultures with communal living as the guide.



³⁸ <http://bit.ly/WaPoArticle>

Appendix A - It's Capitalism

This is a reprint of a book I wrote in 2018. Yet it deserves to be inside this edition, as we must fully grasp how capitalism destroys not only our planet, but our communities.



It's Capitalism



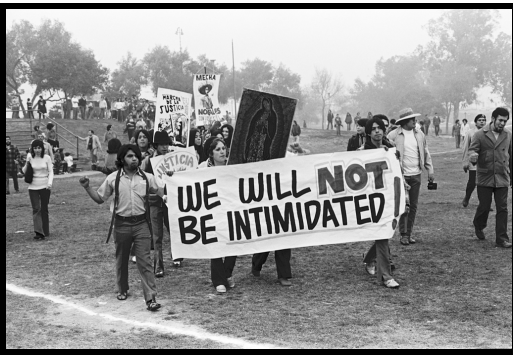
“If everyone who identifies as a leftist, were to receive a call today that the revolution started tomorrow, 9 am, no one would know what to do,” Mark Maxey, National Coordinator for League of American Writers said. “The left is fractionated, too broad with no clear plan.”

Mark's Marxism

The answer lies with Crushing Capitalism, Maxey reflected. The root cause of 100% of our global issues is a direct path to capitalism.

“War, lack of world peace, wage disparity, union busting, denying human rights, environmental ills, class dividing are all products of capitalism.

“In the 1970s as a 13-year-old middle school student, in California, at that time the Chicano Moratorium³⁹ was happening, Joseph Hancock, Director of Labor Today⁴⁰ said. “The Moratorium⁴¹, also progressed by our teachers and students rallying⁴² against the Vietnam War.” The protests were to bring to awareness that military recruiting/drafting was affecting more persons of color than the whites.”



Socialist Review article by Sally Campbell⁴³ looks directly into this issue. In the article, it states,

“The century since the slaughter in the First World War has been littered with endless more bloody wars. Sally Campbell argues the drive to war is not accidental but inherent in the logic of capitalism.” Sally goes on to say, “This minority of the capitalist class, according to Kautsky [Karl Kautsky, a leading member of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD)], had managed to convince the majority of industrial capitalists that they could only defend their interests in the colonies – raw materials and labour – through war and empire-building. In fact, said Kautsky, the capitalists of different nations could agree peacefully to divide up the world and exploit it.”

39

http://www.ohp.parks.ca.gov/pages/1054/files/latinosmpdf_illustrated.pdf

⁴⁰ <http://www.labortoday.us/>

⁴¹ https://localwiki.org/oakland/History_of_Mexican_and_Latino_Americans

⁴² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zoot_Suit_Riots

⁴³ <http://socialistreview.org.uk/394/why-does-capitalism-lead-war>

The only men who benefit⁴⁴ from wars are those with a political agenda.



Divide and Conquer, or the American form, Colonization, is a tool to divide the classes as well as wedge a potential threat of extinction within the races.

Journalist, and National Coordinator for MPD, Mark Maxey, wrote⁴⁵ on this very subject late fall of 2018. “Early reformers used their religious beliefs to justify their Manifest Destiny perspective. It overflowed into Congress, which passed Manifest Destiny-themed bills. Indigenous people, meanwhile, were on the receiving end of this religious zealotry. Rape, abuse, kidnap, murder, and genocide were the end results for them. The recent quoting of Biblical scripture by Attorney General Jeff Sessions⁴⁶ to justify the stealing of immigrant children from their parents shows that this ideology is still very much alive among at least some sectors of the

⁴⁴ <https://www.capitalism.org/category/war/>

⁴⁵ <https://goo.gl/tqkWTU>

⁴⁶ <https://goo.gl/TLChgC>

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U.S. government.”

As the long-time U.S. Indian Service teacher and agent Albert H. Kneale noted in his 1950 autobiography *Indian Agent*, the U.S. Government “went on the assumption that any Indian custom was, per se, objectionable, whereas the customs of whites were the ways of civilization.”

Capitalism is still playing into the mythology of white Manifest Destiny, which goes back to the earliest colonial settlements. Trump's policies are aimed at stoking the racist anger and resentment of his mass base, but they reflect the interests of the same oligarchy that Sen. Bernie Sanders assailed in his bid for the presidency. In every way, the current administration's policies show favoritism to those at the top and seek any way possible to divide those outside the ranks of the super-wealthy.

Trump and his team's “law and order” framework is the same one articulated by President Richard Nixon in the late 1960s and more subtly invoked by Presidents Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton as they ramped up the drug war and fueled massive prison expansions during their times in office. We jail and separate families at the border to deter illegal immigration just as we jail and separate poor families within our country because they can't afford bail or proper legal representation.

It is through the inequalities of power and wealth, capitalism⁴⁷ nurtures economic inequality alongside equality under the law.

TruthOut⁴⁸, published a similar story in 2018⁴⁹. Richard Wolff stated *Economic Update: Capitalism Breeds Inequality*, in his article. The audio article stated, This week's episode discusses how globalization has worsened inequality and injustice, how Quebec's doctors are rejecting pay increases, the significance of the YMCA workers' strike in Chicago, and the growing Japanese co-op movement.

⁴⁷ <https://goo.gl/NgE21u>

⁴⁸ <https://truthout.org/>

⁴⁹ <https://goo.gl/wF2w3Y>

Mark Maxey

Paul Farrell's 2015 article⁵⁰ for Market Watch, said, Capitalism is killing America's morals, our future. In 2013 Six theses⁵¹ were written on the same subject of how capitalism quashes human rights.

In a 1999 class presentation⁵², from a Sociology class at the University of Regina, a class division is one of the exponents of capitalism. For Marx, the analysis of social class, class structures and changes in those structures are key to understanding capitalism and other social systems or modes of production. In the Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels comment that the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Tithi Bhattacharya and Lance Selfa reported in International Socialist Review⁵³. They stated, "This conversation about race, class, and capitalism obviously needs to develop more broadly..."

So capitalism seems to be the ONE item that the left can rally around to crush to bring about a more socialist world. Crushing capitalism is the ROUTE for any true revolution for the left.

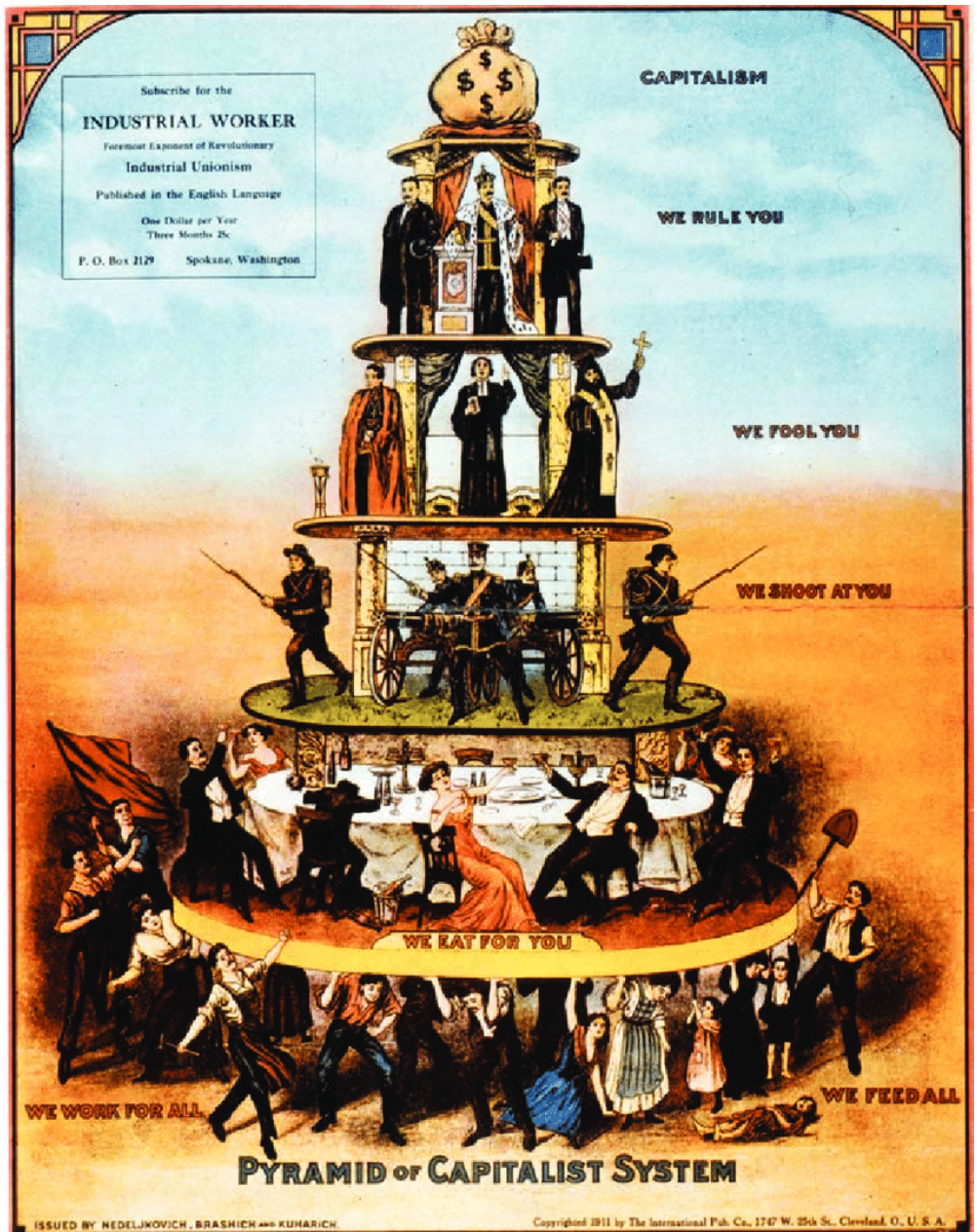
If the left, rallied around crushing capitalism, then most of our societal problems would disappear completely. Start the new year, 2019 by crushing capitalism, then the left is truly leading the RIGHT revolution.

⁵⁰ <https://goo.gl/JEPvQp>

⁵¹ <https://goo.gl/8GB14Q>

⁵² <http://uregina.ca/~gingrich/s28f99.htm>

⁵³ <https://isreview.org/issue/98/race-class-and-capitalism>



It's Capitalism - Part 2

Michael Roberts reports⁵⁴, the top 1% own 48% of all global personal wealth; 10% own 85%. He goes on to say, “This year’s report showed some interesting variations. In the report, personal wealth is measured by the value of the property and financial assets after deducting any debt held by adults. During the 12 months to mid-2018, aggregate global wealth rose by \$14 trillion to \$317 trillion, representing a growth rate of 4.6%. This was sufficient to outpace population growth, so that wealth per adult grew by 3.2%, raising the global mean average wealth to \$63,100 per adult, a record high (but remember this in nominal dollar terms, before inflation).”

Now, honestly, do you as an adult have \$63,100 at your hands to spend right now? Probably like many working class citizen, you do not. This is wealth inequality. At the hands of the capitalists.

What does the term capitalist mean? In the past, it was synonymous with Industrial Owner, Elitist, Robber Barons⁵⁵. A definition of Robber Baron is a person who has become rich through ruthless and unscrupulous business practices. Remember the term in the 1920’s Shantytowns or Company towns⁵⁶.

One must watch the CORPORATION⁵⁷ video to fully understand the negative impact corporations have on individual working class folks. You can listen also to the False Flag podcast⁵⁸ on the same subject. Some research notes with links can be found here⁵⁹ also.

Some may ask what a capitalist is. It is a wealthy person who uses the money to invest in trade and industry for profit in accordance with the

⁵⁴ <https://goo.gl/Wm4Buw>

⁵⁵ <https://goo.gl/QunoLh>

⁵⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Company_town

⁵⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xHrhqtY2khc>

⁵⁸ <https://goo.gl/9SR9pB>

⁵⁹ <https://goo.gl/yoi1AD>

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principles of capitalism. True capitalism needs a competitive market. Without competition, monopolies exist, and instead of the market setting the prices, the seller is the price setter, which is against the conditions of capitalism.

Sounds good huh? But consider the report by Michael Roberts. If the top 1% own 48% of all global personal wealth; 10% own 85%, then obviously the “free” competitive market is held by either the top 1% or the top 10%. Not the working class.

Who are the working class you may ask. The working class (or labouring class) comprises the people employed for wages, especially in manual-labour occupations and industrial work. So the owners only desire profit. They do not even consider the risk to the environment for their profit. They easily move American Union held jobs overseas where the pay is much cheaper. And the “working class” especially the Union workers, are left with no jobs. The company owner does not care.

The wealth inequality gap has grown so much wider in the past forty years. CNN⁶⁰ in 2017 reported, “while wages for low- and middle-income workers have begun to recover, wealth inequality has still climbed to new heights, according to a new survey from the Federal Reserve which conducts a checkup of the nation’s finances every three years.”

The income inequality gap is higher now in our society than any other generation in history. Jaffe says, “Of course, as Rebecca Burns⁶¹ writes, “it’s much easier to predict the future when you have the power and money to shape it.”” As long as this gap is huge, the worker remains in slavery with their CEO. Michael J. Moore in the Winter 2016 NEW POLITICS magazine speaks of this. “Of course, economic inequality raises concern among liberals, social democrats, and socialists alike. For all see in it an ethical problem, one of unfairness, of greed, of unequal control and power. But the new explosion of wealth inequality is much larger in scale than in the previous Gilded Age. It poses different questions with respect

⁶⁰ <https://goo.gl/RTVfqX>

⁶¹ <https://goo.gl/Uw9sjD>

to the transformation of capitalism and the classical models and assumptions within which left politics typically operate.”

Economic inequality leads to broader, more general forms of power and control. Despite the dynamic nature of capitalism, the persistence of oligarchy and elite control should still be seen as the central, salient feature of modern society. To successfully fight this oligarchy is to move more LEFT, such as Democratic Socialism. As well common workers have an ally with one of the original workers union in America. The International Workers of the World, IWW (www.iww.org) can assist in organizing, As well grassroots organizations, Our Revolution (Sen. Bernie Sanders spin off group) Our Democracy, The Young Turks, Black Lives Matter, and MPD (www.movement4peoplesdemocracy.org) are all groups which can help amass and organize with breaking up these oligarchies, The early muckrakers left a formidable change for investigative journalists,

The model for current work places has changed from my own understanding as I learned in the mid to late 1970's. The whole workplace model has evolved with a concise plan that has taken over 40 years to implement. Many younger so-called knowledge workers no longer toil nine to five in a regular office but spend days and nights in front of their laptops at home or in co-working spaces. Part of the economics of the business model began to change in the 1970's with the work done by Milton Friedman⁶². Milton was the new father of a new economic model in the 60's through the 80's which in turn set in motion a drastic change that totally tilted workers rights⁶³. You can read more on Milton here⁶⁴.

The America I knew, back in the late sixties and early seventies is not the America of today. “The change took place in the 1970s. There are a lot of reasons for it,” Noam Chomsky says. “One of the underlying factors, discussed mainly by economic historian Robert Brenner, was the falling rate of profit in manufacturing. There were other factors. It led to

⁶² <https://goo.gl/k1t7Qf>

⁶³ <http://www.slobodaiprosperitet.tv/en/node/1202>

⁶⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milton_Friedman

Mark's Marxism

major changes in the economy — a reversal of several hundred years of progress towards industrialization and development that turned into a process of de-industrialization and de-development. Of course, manufacturing production continued overseas very profitably, but it's no good for the workforce⁶⁵.”

Many of my peers nowhere come close to where their parents were financially at the same age. The economy has depleted their savings, no retirement funds. No vacation or weekend getaway property. Today's Generation X and the Millennials are faced with a stark reality of being broke. It was in the 1970's when Milton Friedman's economic plan was put into place by the extreme fascist right-wing. This is the context I use fascism. Benito Mussolini consolidated control over the Fascist movement in 1919 with the founding of the *Fasci italiani di combattimento*, whose opposition to socialism he declared: We declare war against socialism, not because it is socialism, but because it has opposed nationalism⁶⁶.” Fascism further means a governmental system led by a dictator having complete power, forcibly suppressing opposition and criticism, regimenting all industry, commerce, etc., and emphasizing an aggressive nationalism and often racism. Does this sound familiar? “But Friedman was more than an academic. He was an advocate for, and popularizer of, a radical right-wing economic ideology,” Bernie Sander said⁶⁷. “With all due respect to the late Milton Friedman, his economic program is nothing more than a wish list for the greediest, the most monied interests in our society. At the same time that this ideology is supported by the rich and powerful-except when they're lining up in Washington for their welfare checks-this same ideology is almost unanimously opposed to working families and middle-class people across this country.”

The Republican right wing establishment has been dismantling our American dream. This has been going on for over forty years. Cold calculated robbing the working class of any opportunities. All the while lining their pockets from their corporate sponsors. Representing the corporations, capitalists, and not the citizens, the workers. Neither parties

⁶⁵ <https://goo.gl/ezba2T>

⁶⁶ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fascism>

⁶⁷ http://inthesetimes.com/article/4193/the_failed_prophet

are the answer. It will have to be something new.

The lyrics⁶⁸ from Jimmy Lafave poignantly says it best, a Worn Out American Dream. The changes to corporate America has caused this nightmare. Union busting tactics is another nightmare. The conglomeration of big business has caused it too⁶⁹. Toss in offshore accounts and overseas industrialization is a culprit too. Loss of jobs, reduced pay and diminishing benefits has decimated the working class. When the top Ten companies represent the retail market⁷⁰, I can tell you the workers don't share in the profits.

Michael Yates, in Monthly Review said, "Wages have changed considerably along with the cost of living in the past forty years. Others are not so fortunate. In 2010, more than 7 million people had incomes less than 50 percent of the official poverty level of income, an amount equal to \$11,245, which in hourly terms (2,000 hours of work per year) is \$5.62. About one-quarter of all jobs in the United States pay an hourly wage rate that would not support a family of four at the official poverty level of income⁷¹."

Michael D. Yates wrote⁷² for Monthly Review: It is by now well known that significant and growing economic inequality is a central feature of the U.S. economy, as previous articles in Monthly Review have shown⁷³. However, the same is also the case for much of the rest of the world. Inequality arises in other countries for reasons similar to those in the United States, but each nation has its own history, along with widely divergent economic and political structures.

⁶⁸ <https://goo.gl/6n4oTU>

⁶⁹ <http://fortune.com/global500/list/>

⁷⁰ <https://goo.gl/cD6aoB>

⁷¹ <https://monthlyreview.org/2012/03/01/the-great-inequality/>

⁷² <https://goo.gl/quRwAZ>

⁷³ <https://goo.gl/o6Rm5b>

It's Capitalism - Part 3

In contrast, it is easy to see corporatists have increased since 1980's. A sharp downward spiral almost to a death rattle has the working class become. These graphs and charts should be utterly shocking to you. It doesn't get more insightful than this. Simply the greedy corporatists have been getting greedier for the past forty-seven years. Behind it, all are mostly Republicans. Yet this issue goes well beyond the issue of political parties. The workplace model has shifted and reflects a CEO as being narcissistic. Instead of recognizing the needs of the workers they focus on the bottom line to increase their profits. With no moral compass. It's all about profits with no understanding of the depletion of natural resources.

“The economic boom of the 1990s created huge wealth for the bosses but benefited workers hardly at all. At the same time, the bosses were able to take the political initiative and even the moral high ground, while workers were often divided against each other,” Michael Yates of Monthly Review states. One should “name the system⁷⁴” - “and that system establishes that the working-class does not aid in the wealth they produce. The growing inequality both globally and in the United States is the direct correlation to capitalism.” Capitalism, unwatched, will always yield such an outcome. Yates goes on to illustrate, “(the)necessary consequence of capitalism, and not an unfortunate side-effect that can be remedied by technical measures. To defend working people against ongoing attacks—on their working conditions, their living standards, and their future and that of their children—and to challenge inequality, it is necessary to understand capitalism as a system and for labor to challenge the political dominance of capitalist interests.”

Chuck Collins⁷⁵, in Yes magazine, reported that across the country, local jurisdictions aren't waiting for federal action or corporate governance reforms to close the wage gap. In December, for example, the city of Portland, Oregon, passed an ordinance to raise the business tax on

⁷⁴ https://monthlyreview.org/product/naming_the_system/

⁷⁵ <https://goo.gl/DaZMk>

companies with CEOs who earn more than 100 times the median pay of their workers. Portland officials said the ordinance is the first of its kind in the country. And now, more cities and states are poised to follow suit.

“The huge divide in income and wealth has real-world implications,” Steve Novick⁷⁶ wrote last October in Inequality.org. Novick sponsored the ordinance when he was on the Portland City Council. “Too many Americans cannot get a leg up,” he wrote. “Income inequality undermines the American dream.”

In *These Times* magazine in 2015 ran an article⁷⁷ on Five Ways To Reduce Inequality. Quite simply we, the working-class, must hold corporations responsible. Amy Domini and Sofia Faruqi reported⁷⁸, “Not so long ago, business leaders believed that corporations should serve⁷⁹ not only shareholders but also employees and the community. This mission narrowed in the 1990s to a single-minded focus⁸⁰ on shareholder return. A white paper by James Montier explains how the simplified purpose has created vast income inequality. Average CEO compensation has soared to 300 times higher⁸¹ than worker pay, and companies have become quick to increase profit by downsizing.”

In the early days of our republic, corporations were incorporated with an expiration date. They also had to serve the public good. The local community and state also restricted a number of local resources the corporations could use. It was a socially responsible model. It is a model we should get back to in order to turn around this wage inequality. It also places the local resources into the hands of the local working-class.

Wallace Hopp⁸² in May 2017 said in, *In These Times*: “Let us consider two

⁷⁶ <http://inequality.org/city-cutting-edge-ceo-pay-reform/>

⁷⁷ <https://goo.gl/typ8KF>

⁷⁸ <http://inthesetimes.com/community/profile/322226>

⁷⁹ http://www.salon.com/2012/04/04/the_shareholder_fallacy/

⁸⁰ <http://www.cg.org.cn/theory/zlyz/roundtable.pdf>

⁸¹ <http://www.epi.org/publication/ceo-pay-continues-to-rise/>

⁸² <https://goo.gl/B8yReq>

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important ways income inequality undermines the economy: (1) by diminishing worker motivation and (2) by reducing the velocity of money.

The demoting impact of income inequality occurs when workers see the gains of productivity going almost entirely to executives. Since 1973, productivity has increased⁸³ by over 73 percent, while (inflation-adjusted) hourly worker pay has risen by only about 11 percent and CEO compensation has soared⁸⁴ by 1,000 percent.”

Who can blame people for being reluctant to work harder when they know the proceeds will go to someone else? Extensive behavioral research⁸⁵ has shown that people will forego personal gain to prevent outcomes they perceive as unfair. In work settings, this leads to demotivated workers working below their potential, even when it leads to smaller raises or bonuses. The result is reduced productivity, lower quality, and less creativity, all of which undermine corporate profit and economic growth.

Another way⁸⁶ inequality affects the economy is by reducing the velocity of money by shifting cash⁸⁷ to people who spend it more slowly. Working-class people who are stretching to make ends meet spend their income quickly—usually pretty much all of it— while wealthy people whose resources exceed their immediate needs tend to save substantial portions⁸⁸ of their income.

Consequently, whenever a company takes a dollar out of the hands of a worker and puts it into the hands of an executive or investor, the number of times that dollar will be spent in the economy is reduced. The result is less business for capitalists and less employment for workers.

These two observations imply that policies that decrease income inequality also bolster⁸⁹ the economy. Since this benefits both rich and poor, such

⁸³ <http://www.epi.org/productivity-pay-gap/>

⁸⁴ <https://goo.gl/TobZ4F>

⁸⁵ <https://goo.gl/r8nno5>

⁸⁶ <https://goo.gl/qLvVYi>

⁸⁷ <https://goo.gl/yEXTvN>

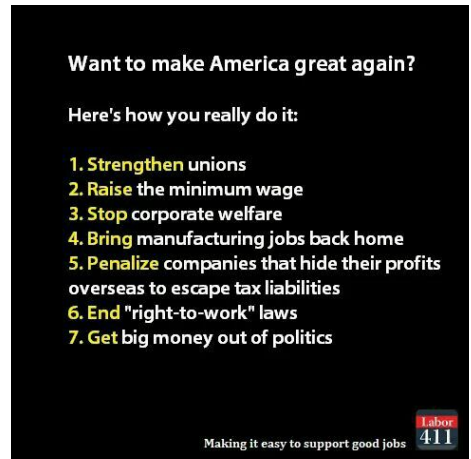
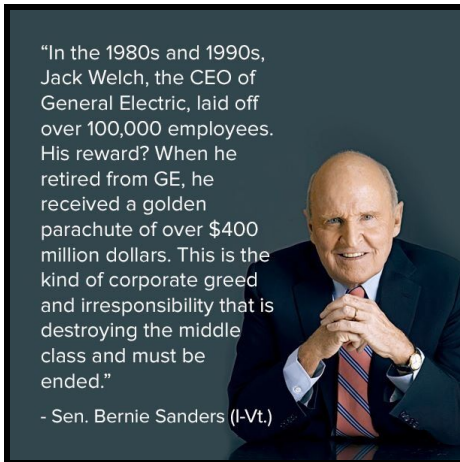
⁸⁸ <https://goo.gl/aWTVkN>

⁸⁹ <https://goo.gl/nka2ZG>

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policies offer opportunities for the rich, and the businesses they control, to be part of the solution rather than part of the problem of income inequality.

Bill Moyer⁹⁰ even agrees that wage inequality threatens our core democracy. During the Great Recession, between 2007 and 2009, the unemployment rate grew to its highest level in 25 years. With many Americans losing their jobs, the number of low-income families grew to 10 million in 2009, a quarter million increase from the previous year. The findings come as income inequality continues to grow, a grim reminder of how many working families are struggling to pay the bills with stagnant wages. Since the recession, more working-class families are in poverty than ever before⁹¹.



⁹⁰ <https://goo.gl/jf3WYh>

⁹¹ <https://goo.gl/XeHBD1>

I've Got To Know

Okemah, OK born folk singer, Woody Guthrie⁹², wrote a beautifully penned song, ***I've Got To Know***.⁹³ His granddaughter Sarah Lee Guthrie sings a haunting version of it!⁹⁴ Within the seventeen verses are words that reflect much truth today. Though written over seventy years ago, the words are still as fresh.

Why do your war boats ride on my waters?
Why do your death bombs fall from my skies?
Why do you burn my farm and my town down?
I've got to know, friend, I've got to know!
What makes your boats haul death to my people?
Nitro blockbusters, big cannons, and guns?
Why doesn't your ship bring food and some clothing?
I've sure got to know, folks, I've sure got to know!

Our industrial military complex is just as complacent and aligned with as the International Monetary Fund.⁹⁵ Money and the use of force is a tool for capitalism to keep persons and cultures oppressed. If you can for a second imagine this. Imagine if the money used to stage war were given to the working class, would it not aid in more peace? Yet if through media and propaganda the capitalists use keep blinders on the eyes of the oppressed. Makes you wonder, Why doesn't the warship bring food and clothing?

⁹² <http://woodyguthrie.org/index.htm>

⁹³ http://woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/Ive_Got_To_Know.htm

⁹⁴ <https://youtu.be/UftDEofGmqE?list=FLCZiM7ZsOJLk0PiiKb3QS6Q>

⁹⁵

<http://theantimedia.org/us-military-uses-imf-and-world-bank-to-launders-85-of-its-black-budget/>

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The CIA and NSA alone garnered [\\$52.6 billion](#)⁹⁶ in funding in 2013 while the Department of Defense black ops budget for secret military projects exceeds this number. It is estimated to be \$58.7 billion for the fiscal year 2015.

Jake Anderson⁹⁷ wrote:

However, of greater interest to some may be the clandestine nature and full scope of the black budget, which, according to analyst Catherine Austin Fitts, goes far beyond classified appropriations. Based on her research, some of which can be found in her piece [“What’s Up With the Black Budget?”](#)⁹⁸ Fitts concludes that during the last decade, global financial elites have configured an elaborate system that makes most of the military budget un-auditable. This is because the real black budget includes money acquired by intelligence groups via narcotics trafficking, predatory lending, and various kinds of other financial fraud.

The result of this vast, geopolitically-sanctioned money laundering scheme is that [Housing and Urban Development and other agencies](#)⁹⁹ are used for drug trafficking and securities fraud. [According to Fitts](#)¹⁰⁰, the scheme allows for at least 85 percent of the U.S. federal budget to remain unaudited.

Fitts has been researching this issue since 2001 when she began to believe that a financial coup d’etat was underway. Specifically, she suspected that the banks, corporations, & investors acting in each global region were part of a [“global heist”](#)¹⁰¹,

⁹⁶

<http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2015/02/02/black-budget-requests-remain-secret>

⁹⁷

<http://theantimedia.org/us-military-uses-imf-and-world-bank-to-laundry-85-of-its-black-budget/>

⁹⁸ <https://solari.com/blog/whats-up-with-the-black-budget/>

⁹⁹ <https://solari.com/blog/financial-coup-d%E2%80%99etat/>

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.dunwalke.com/gideon/q301.pdf>

¹⁰¹ <https://solari.com/blog/financial-coup-d%E2%80%99etat/>

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whereby capital was being sucked out of each country. She was right.

This overtly gross money spending compounded by what other countries spend, it simply is robbing the poor. It's through taxes paid by the working class. Our government wastes the precious money from the poor which could be used for them instead. Again, our government is supposed to represent us not become a robber baron.

To be a good citizen one must keep vigilant on how much power it gives away to the government. Eisenhower's¹⁰² fears about the military-industrial complex reflected his more general concern about militarism, or an overemphasis on military policy and spending, which he thought was costing the nation far too much money. In a remarkable and now famous statement made early in his presidency in April 1953, Eisenhower (1960) declared,

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children. This is not a way of life at all in any true sense. Under the clouds of war, it is humanity hanging on a cross of iron.

A half-century after Eisenhower made this statement, U.S. military spending continues unabated. In 2009 it was \$767 billion (including \$92 billion for veterans' benefits) and accounted for almost 22% of all federal spending¹⁰³ but also for a much higher percentage of federal spending over which the government has any control. The federal budget includes both mandatory and discretionary spending. As the name implies, mandatory spending is required by various laws and includes such things as Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, food stamps, and interest payments on the national debt; much of these mandatory expenses are funded by trust

¹⁰²

<http://open.lib.umn.edu/sociology/chapter/13-5-the-military-industrial-complex/>

¹⁰³ U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). *Statistical abstract of the United States: 2010*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab>.

funds, such as Social Security taxes, which are raised and spent separately from income taxes. Discretionary spending involves the money the president and Congress must decide how to spend each year and includes income tax dollars only. Military spending accounts for about 43% of discretionary spending.¹⁰⁴

The U.S. military budget is by far the highest in the world and dwarfs the military budgets for the nations ranking after the United States. In 2009, the U.S. military budget was \$661 billion. The nations ranking after the United States were China, \$100 billion; France, \$64 billion; the United Kingdom, \$58 billion; Russia, \$53 billion; Japan, \$51 billion; and Germany, \$46 billion. U.S. military spending accounted for 43% of the world's military spending in 2009.¹⁰⁵

Anonymous Patriots¹⁰⁶ wrote: "We are not only incensed that our elected officials are turning a blind eye to the transnational enemy within our country and around the world, we are disgusted with these warlords, both military and corporate, that send our sons and daughters to wars-for-profit to have their blood spilled for their own families' profits. As citizens of the world, we are filled with anger when we see men, women, and children slaughtered and displaced so that the few at the top can earn profits from blood and guns. We are sick and tired of wars *ad nauseam*, from our fathers who were killed in Viet Nam, our neighbors on 9-11, displaced war refugees around the world, not to mention the millions of starving children around the world who could use the money we spend on DARPA and their war tools for clean water, food, and education."

Within their article, it fully lays out who is behind the military industrial complex. The upper 10% is dictating the daily struggles of the other 90%. But my math shows that at anytime the 90% can and should rise

¹⁰⁴ Friends Committee on National Legislation. (2009). *How much of your 2008 income taxes pay for war?* Washington, DC: Friends Committee on National Legislation. Retrieved from

http://www.fcnl.org/issues/item.php?item_id=3553&issue_id=19.

¹⁰⁵ Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. (2010). The 15 major spender countries in 2009. Retrieved from <http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/resultoutput/15majorspender> S.

¹⁰⁶ <http://stateofthenation2012.com/?p=34801>

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up against the 10%. The decision is ours. In time I think more will wake up to this fact.

War and chaos are tools of the capitalists/oppressors to rise up or rally the working-class. It is always a false flag in the media we should be aware of. Too often many get caught up in this game. The enemy is within our own country, the enemy is not mysteriously out there. Of course, the largest portion of America's budget is reserved for the military. What does that say about American values? What does that say about the American dream? It is OUR tax money, we should have a say in how it is spent.

Kaethe Kollwitz, German Expressionist, wrote: *"Every war already carries within it the war that will answer it. Every war is answered by a new war, until everything is smashed. That is why I am so wholeheartedly for a radical end to this madness and why my only hope is in world socialism."* She wrote that on 21 February 1944, a year before she died.

Someday I envision those working class awake folks will show up in Washington for a budget committee hearing. Imagine 100,000 citizens showing up to observe and let the legislators know we are watching. How soon do you think a change would happen? I've got to know!

Dismantling the Workplace

Within the past few years, much talk has happened regarding the use of robotics in the workplace while displacing the human worker. Sarah Jaffe, author, and journalist said it best in the latest Dissent magazine Winter 2017 article, “As we stare down the barrel of a Donald Trump presidency, the future looks grim for labor. Our new president is a racist billionaire, with decades of experience in the art of screwing workers...We’ve read hundreds of these stories. We know how they go. But the thing they all seem to gloss over is the question at the heart of this section: the question of politics.”¹⁰⁷ This is true, but the politics for me is the grassroots social justice persons amassing quickly under the Trump administration. I think this show will expose how reviewing history and uncovering the core truth of the matter. It is when the workers and grassroots activist stand up together only then will viable change happen.

The model for current work places has changed from my own understanding as I learned in the mid to late 1970’s. The whole workplace model has evolved with a concise plan that has taken over 40 years to implement. Many younger so-called knowledge workers no longer toil nine to five in a regular office but spend days and nights in front of their laptops at home or in co-working spaces. Part of the economics of the business model began to change in the 1970’s with the work done by Milton Friedman.¹⁰⁸ Milton was the new father of a new economic model in the 60’s through the 80’s which in turn set in motion a drastic change that totally tilted workers rights.¹⁰⁹ You can read more on Milton here.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷

<https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/winter-2017-future-of-work-introduction-no-retreat>

¹⁰⁸

<https://www.forbes.com/sites/investor/2012/12/14/why-milton-friedman-opposed-right-to-work/#7f4fa18875a9>

¹⁰⁹

<http://www.slobodaiproperitet.tv/en/node/1202>

¹¹⁰

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milton_Friedman

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The income inequality gap is higher now in our society than any other generation in history. Jaffe says, “Of course, as [Rebecca Burns](#) writes, “it’s much easier to predict the future when you have the power and money to shape it.” As long as this gap is huge, the worker remains in slavery with their CEO. Michael J. Moore in the Winter 2016 NEW POLITICS magazine speaks of this. “Of course, economic inequality raises concern among liberals, social democrats, and socialists alike. For all see in it an ethical problem, one of unfairness, of greed, of unequal control and power. But the new explosion of wealth inequality is much larger in scale than in the previous Gilded Age. It poses different questions with respect to the transformation of capitalism and the classical models and assumptions within which left politics typically operate.”¹¹¹

Economic inequality leads to broader, more general forms of power and control. Despite the dynamic nature of capitalism, the persistence of oligarchy and elite control should still be seen as the central, salient feature of modern society. To successfully fight this oligarchy is to move more LEFT, such as Democratic Socialism. As well common workers have an ally with one of the original workers union in America. The International Workers of the World, IWW¹¹² can assist in organizing, As well grassroots organizations, Our Revolution (Sen. Bernie Sanders spin off group) Our Democracy, The Young Turks, Black Lives Matter, and Democratic Socialists of America,¹¹³ are all groups which can help amass and organize with breaking up these oligarchies, The early muckrakers left a formidable change for investigative journalists,¹¹⁴

The Occupy movement and the Bernie Sanders campaign spotlighted once again the fact that a fairly small number of very rich people dominate the major economic and political institutions of the country.¹¹⁵ There is a great documentary on corporations you should watch¹¹⁶. The information is useful in exposing how corporatism has run amuck.

¹¹¹ <http://newpol.org/content/rise-servant-society>

¹¹² www.iww.org

¹¹³ www.dsusa.org

¹¹⁴ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muckraker>

¹¹⁵ <http://newpol.org/content/rise-and-fall-muckrakers>

¹¹⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xHrhqtY2khc>

As well Noam Chomsky's **Requiem For the American Dream** is a must see as well. You can view his question and answer video on YouTube.¹¹⁷ The video states. "Chomsky unpacks the principles that have brought us to the crossroads of historically unprecedented inequality. Tracing a half-century of policies designed to favor the most wealthy at the expense of the majority, Chomsky lays bare the costly debris left in its wake: the evisceration of the American worker, disappearance of the living wage, collapse of the dream of homeownership, skyrocketing higher education costs placing betterment beyond reach or shackling students to suffocating debt, and a loss of solidarity that has left us divided against ourselves."

David Swanson in his story for Alternet has said¹¹⁸ "the American Dream in the 1950s and 60s was partly real. Both rich and poor got richer. Since then, we've seen the steady advance of what Chomsky calls the plutonomy and the precariat, that is the wealthy few who run the show and get all the new wealth and the precarious proletariat. Back then, taxes were quite high on corporations, dividends, and wealth. Not anymore."

The greed of corporatists today is even greedier than the robber barons of years past. This is the issue. This current exhibition is indicative of the system it has become. It will take many like minded working-class groups to lock arms in resistance and solidarity before the change is possible. No one organization can slay the beast modern corporatism has become. But for a more loving society socialism must take root in America. Or this is the requiem for the American dream.

When Republicans speak of being for capitalism what they really mean is corporatism. They speak of wanting free markets. If we truly had free markets we would have Tesla making all the cars.

¹¹⁷<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qk9aSQwkMck>

¹¹⁸

<http://www.alternet.org/news-amp-politics/noam-chomsky-wants-you-wake-american-dream>

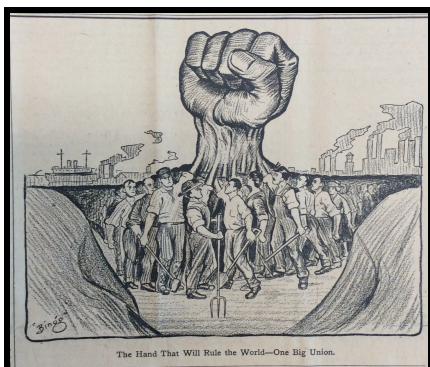
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Recently I moved to a very rural town with just 600 residents. I wanted to slow down and focus on my writing. The only job opportunity was the only store in town. It was one those general dollar retail stores. The company training video started with the spokesperson reminding me, an employee, my only job was to ensure the shareholder's financial return. As well their voluminous policy books were presented to me.

The expectations of this corporation of their employees were over the top unattainable. Yet the many policies that the board of directors engineered insured that they could belittle the employee into submission. Many of my co-workers could not live up to their expectations. Management constant bitching also produced a lot of depression pill popping employees. There was always a dark depressing feeling emanating from all employees. No employee I met could afford the average \$200 deduction for medical coverage, as most employees were paid a bit above minimum wage. \$200 is a lot when you live in poverty.

I also witnessed the firing of older employees for new hires that were in their late teens or early twenties. The company policies came into play so they could show why fired employees should not be paid unemployment pay. Another corporatist money saving implementation.

This was not the business model I first worked under in the mid-1970. What I explained and witnessed is the new business plan for most all companies. It is the vast rural working-class that suffers the most from capitalism. Who is hurt by all this is the working-class. It is time for working-class to get organized and unionized



Media Wars

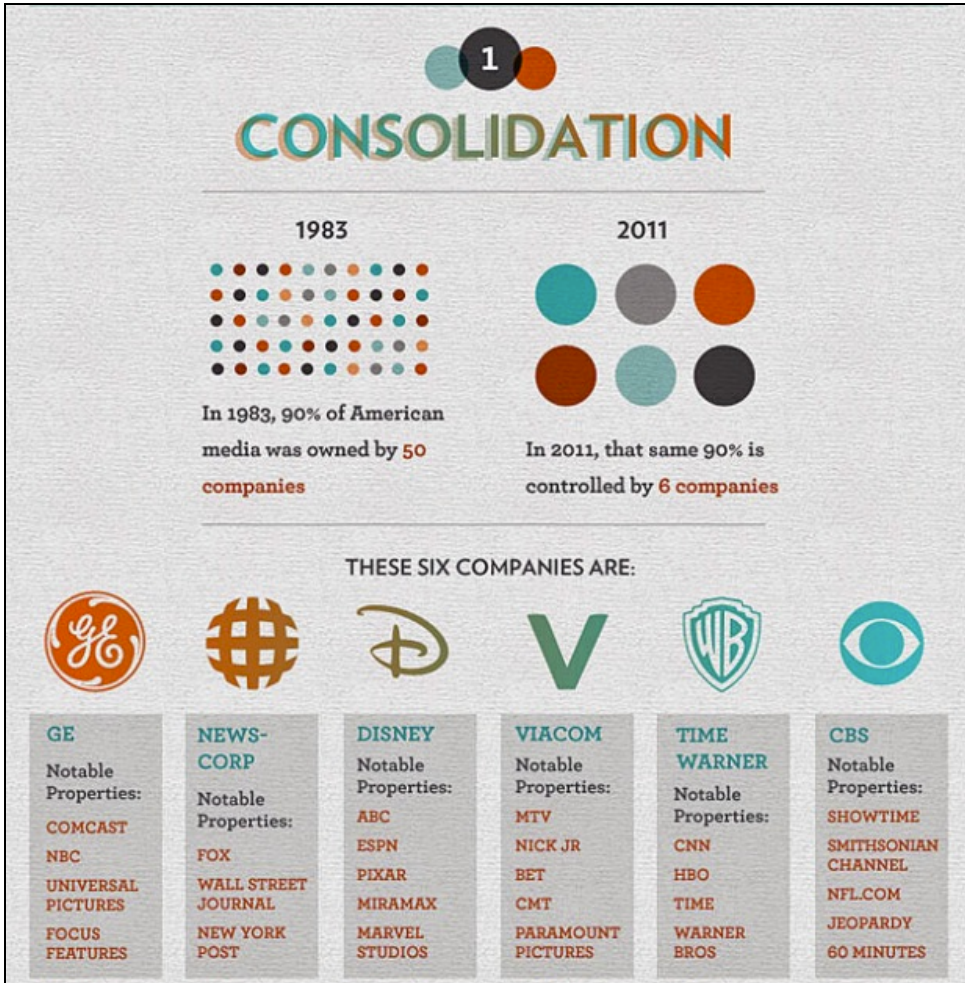
I worked over 15 years in the communications media business. First as an on-air personality, then a producer, newspaper journalist, and some public relations writing. During my radio days, I did some news stringing for larger market radio on certain news events. One such time was a murder trial being run in Muskogee, OK. I was working at KBIX and KRMG out of Tulsa, OK asked me to cover it for them. It was while I was at KBIX that the Fairness Doctrine¹¹⁹ was struck down by President Reagan in June of 1987. During the trial one day the District Attorney wanted to introduce crime scene photographs. The defense lawyers objected citing it would incense the jury. The judge dismissed the jury and reviewed the photographs. The media pool was able to see the photos as well. The judge allowed it to be entered into evidence. The trial continued. I called in my report and Rand LaVonn, KRMG News, recorded it. He asked me if I saw the photos. At that point, I asked for the recording device to be turned off. I confirmed with Rand if it was off. He assured me that it was. I then described the gruesomeness of the photos. Later that night my brother called from Tulsa stating that my news story had totally grossed him out enough that he could not eat dinner. The next day I called Rand and asked why he had lied to me on turning the recorder off. He said, "It's 5pm prime time news. If it bleeds it leads." I told him he was being unethical and I quit stringing for KRMG. That was my first time in seeing the demise of ethical, honest news media in broadcasting.

The Fairness Doctrine also established some guidelines with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in how many markets a media company could own stations. After the repeal in 1987, you began to see media outlets merging and buying out smaller markets. During this time you saw media groups diversify and get involved financially with all forms of media. Whether it was radio, television, magazines, print, and movie studios the ownership dwindled to just a handful of groups.

¹¹⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fairness_Doctrine

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Presently six media group's own 90% of all media consumed by U.S. citizens.¹²⁰ Six companies tell you their editorial views or slant whether it is radio, television, print, or movies. And knowing what we do on the capitalist present company policy it is being driven by advertisement. Forbes reported in 2016 that fifteen billionaires own the media in the United States.¹²¹



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<http://www.morriscreative.com/6-corporations-control-90-of-the-media-in-america/>

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<https://www.forbes.com/sites/katevinton/2016/06/01/these-15-billionaires-own-americas-news-media-companies/1>

<http://static2.businessinsider.com/image/4fd9ee1e6bb3f7af5700000a/media-infographic.jpg>



The above graphic¹²² shows the main parent companies and all their subsidiaries. These few companies pay for advertising with the six companies that own 90% of our media. Those fifteen billionaires are the capitalists that allow other billionaires to usurp our decision making while we gladly turn our money over to them. Do you see how sick this system is? As well, the editorial decisions by these media group are always driven by money. So our news no longer is merely the facts but carefully worded spin to make billionaires more money. I say get off this merry go round. Stop the madness.

There are plenty of reliable progressive and leftist independently owned media you can get real news from. I personally get my news from such outlets and no longer dragged along by a chain with the mainstream news. Mainstream news misleads, misguides, and has a hidden agenda. Don't be played by the capitalists owned news outlets. It's a money game.

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http://2.bp.blogspot.com/-3n_GbJVCiul/UnUmZ-3ntzl/AAAAAAAAAX04/WSHRP19HwEc/s1600/10+Mega-Corporations.png

I will list some reliable progressive media outlets you can trust. Democracy Now,¹²³ The Young Turks¹²⁴, Thom Hartman¹²⁵ are great television based news. Print sources are The Nation¹²⁶, In These Times¹²⁷, Monthly Review¹²⁸, Dissent¹²⁹, New Politics¹³⁰, Yes¹³¹, Mother Jones¹³². Internet based is The People's World¹³³, Mint Press News¹³⁴, and Al Jazeera¹³⁵. New locally produced progressive media is popping up all the time. Support these alternative sources. The real truth is with them. If you get away from the mainstream news you also slowly hurt the capitalist owned bourgeoisie newsgroups. Every chain we break weakens them. Every time a new progressive news aware person awakes, the stronger the resistance becomes. Be part of the solution. Not part of the problem.

A great documentary to watch is called *The Brainwashing of My Dad*.¹³⁶ Their website synopsis says, "As filmmaker, Jen Senko, tries to understand the transformation of her father from a non political, lifelong Democrat to an angry, Right-Wing fanatic, she uncovers the forces behind the media that changed him completely: a plan by Roger Ailes under Nixon for a media takeover by the GOP, The Powell Memo urging business leaders to influence institutions of public opinion, especially the universities, the media and the courts, and under Reagan, the dismantling of the Fairness Doctrine." Personally, I've witnessed what was the greatest time for journalists. And I've seen what has become the ruin of journalism. Today I write for a 98-year old established progressive leftist news media. I know what I write and what my editors stand for is social justice and truth. We all make choices. In media, those of us on the front lines for the resistance need to set the example.

¹²³ <https://www.democracynow.org>

¹²⁴ <https://tytnetwork.com>

¹²⁵ <https://www.thomhartmann.com>

¹²⁶ <https://www.thenation.com>

¹²⁷ <https://inthesetimes.com>

¹²⁸ <https://monthlyreview.org>

¹²⁹ <https://www.dissentmagazine.org>

¹³⁰ <https://newpol.org>

¹³¹ www.yesmagazine.org

¹³² www.motherjones.com

¹³³ <https://peoplesworld.org>

¹³⁴ www.mintpressnews.com

¹³⁵ <http://www.aljazeera.com/>

¹³⁶ <http://www.thebrainwashingofmydad.com/>

The Bourgeois Press

(From the "Correspondence of the Young International")

What is the Press? What do we mean when we speak of the Press? This is very important and something we should all understand, for it is the Press that moulds Public Opinion. Nay, further, it is the press that controls the World! The Press is the great machine that issues the news. It not only publishes newspapers but it is the instrument whereby we get our printed matter and ultimately, our ideas and knowledge. Now I have said that the workers, and especially the young workers, should get a thorough conception of what this means. Why? Firstly it being a newsproducer and the source of information the workers should know whether the matter contained in the publications are true and accurate. Now comes the great problem:

Can we rely upon the Capitalist Press as being truthful?

I declare most emphatically, No! How can it possibly be, seeing that it is owned and controlled by the Capitalists and therefore the factory and landowners. But probably you will ejaculate, "What does it matter who owns the Press, as long as they publish the news?" Of course it matters. Let me explain. The wealthiest people are the people who can form themselves into a group with the object of "running" a newspaper. This group is known as a Syndicate, and it is the object of this syndicate to make the Paper a "paying concern" in order to assure their shareholders receiving good dividends. Here we have already gained some knowledge, i. e.,—

That the Press is not to supply the People with News, but rather their Shareholders with Profits!

Now, the man who buys the most shares has the most say in the management of the paper and therefore takes the position of the Managing Director, and subsequently the other shareholders take their position on the paper, according to the amount of shares they have bought. Now, who are the people who can buy the most shares in order to have the decisive voice on the policy of the paper? Naturally, the factory and landowners. Your Bosses. What is the result of such owned papers?

Any news coming in which is liable to interfere with the owners' interests or is apt to make the workers discontented is immediately distorted or altogether suppressed. In the last miners' lock-out it was necessary to "manufacture" wicked tales about the miners. So Editors turned their hands to producing slander and lies. If they fail to make an impression by one method, they try another, usually one that will appeal to the humanitarian instinct of the people. So they said that the miners were leaving the pit ponies down in the mines to starve and in some cases to drown. And you who read this stuff never for a

moment doubt the integrity of such news, and never stop to think that the miner is no different from any other human being, and therefore is just as humane. Now, let us imagine for a moment, that the steel workers come out in strike. We do not make sufficient inquiries to find out who owns certain papers. If we did, we might learn that the owner happens to have great interests vested in the steelworks with the result that

**he publishes lies!
he must publish lies!**

--and a distorted report of the demands of the workers. The workers' leaders evading the strike, send in correct information regarding the strike, and do the News Controllers publish it? Not by any means. Wherever there happens to be a Communist Leader, there, again, we receive news to the effect that "a most peculiar individual, who breathes blood and Revolution and carries bombs in his pockets" is engaged in such and such an area in misleading the people—hence the strike. Then they go a little farther by declaring that that sort of discontent is being encouraged by alien elements that ought to be deported. Every single one of them!

But, of course, we know that the aliens are just as we are—wage slaves. That they have nothing to gain by stirring up the people and that, were they deported, they would still be wage slaves.

Do you know that when Big Business wants a war, in order to appease their lust for Profits, they resort to Newspaper Propaganda. They publish as many falsehoods as possible concerning the particular Nation they want to prey upon until they make your minds quite ripe for war. The rest is easy. Big Business finances the Government and State projects, and therefore Big Business has a say in the affairs of State, in which they interest themselves to such an extent as to create misery and despair which inevitably follows war.

I think I have told you sufficient to make you realize that under Capitalism Truth will never be forthcoming, and I have no doubt, that you, young workers, who read this, will understand, that we, as the future men and women of this world, have got to alter this Press System. The Truth will only be published when the workers print and publish their own papers. Your parents have the "Communist" and now you have the "Young Communist." This paper is yours because it is your money and the money of your fellow workers that produces it. Help to maintain it! Encourage the publication of Truth! by buying it, reading it, and joining the Young Communist League.

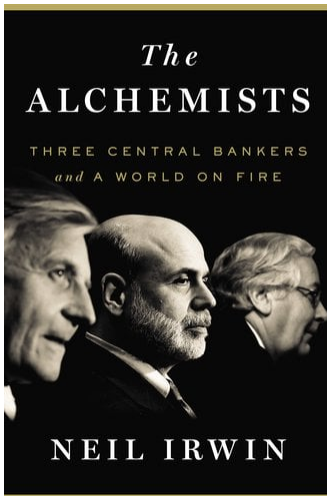
Not much has changed from 1922¹³⁷?

¹³⁷ Young, Young Workers League of New York, 1922, page 15, New York.
<https://www.marxists.org/history//usa/pubs/youngworker/v1n1-feb-1922-yw.pdf>

Give Me That Money

The nightmarish covert manner that our Federal Reserve was created is worth studying. Anytime greed, corporatists, bourgeoisie are involved it is downright icky.

The mustachioed man in the silk top hat strode to his private railcar parked at a New Jersey train station, a mahogany-paneled affair with velvet drapes and well-polished brass accents. Five more men – and a legion of porters and servants – soon joined him. They referred to one another by their first names only, an uncommon informality in 1910, intended to give the staff no hints as to who the men actually were, lest rumors make their way to the newspapers and then to the trading floors of New York and London. One of the men, a German immigrant named Paul Warburg, carried a borrowed shotgun in order to look like a duck hunter, despite having never drawn a bead on a waterfowl in his life.



Adapted from “The Alchemists: Three Central Bankers and a World on Fire,” by Neil Irwin. Irwin, a Washington Post columnist and economics editor of Wonkblog, was the Post’s beat reporter covering the Federal Reserve and other central banks from 2007 to 2012. The book tells of how the central bankers came to exert vast power over the global economy, from their 17th century beginnings to the present, and tells the inside story of how they wielded that power from 2007 on as they fought a global financial crisis. Excerpted by permission of The Penguin Press, a

member of the Penguin Group (USA), © Neil Irwin. Buy it from Amazon here¹³⁸.

¹³⁸ <https://goo.gl/G8eZNL>

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Two days later, the car deposited the men at the small Georgia port town of Brunswick, where they boarded a boat for the final leg of their journey. Jekyll Island, their destination, was a private resort owned by the powerful banker J.P. Morgan and some friends, a refuge on the Atlantic where they could get away from the cold New York winter. Their host — the man in the silk top hat — was Nelson Aldrich, one of the most powerful senators of the day, a lawmaker who lorded over the nation's financial matters.

For nine days, working all day and into the night, the six men debated how to reform the U.S. banking and monetary systems, trying to find a way to make this nation just finding its footing on the global stage less subject to the kinds of financial collapses that had seemingly been conquered in Western Europe. Secrecy was paramount. "Discovery," wrote one attendee later, "simply must not happen, or else all our time and effort would have been wasted. If it were to be exposed publicly that our particular group had got together and written a banking bill, that bill would have no chance whatever of passage by Congress."¹³⁹

G. Edward Griffin also has written an insightful book on this. It's entitled "*The Creature from Jekyll Island*".¹⁴⁰ You need to realize that this entity is unaudited. It is comprised by International financiers who **CONTROL** the American banking system. It was designed and set up this way for a purpose. This purpose does **NOT** have best interests of the common worker class. Designed to enslave the working class and continues to as well.

They are private bankers in business to make money. The economists teach us that the Federal Reserve is good. That it's beneficial and keeps recessions at bay. But realize they are part of the hidden agenda to keep average working class in the dark. They are private, not a government agency. They are international bankers with absolutely no

¹³⁹

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2013/12/21/the-federal-reserve-was-created-100-years-ago-this-is-how-it-happened/?utm_term=.429c2097fa82

¹⁴⁰ <https://archive.org/details/CreatureFromJekyllIslandByG.EdwardGriffin>

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national allegiance. In any country they operate they have no allegiance either.

The Federal Treasury issues a bond to the Federal Reserve. Who then the FRB authorise and secures the printing of that currency. The US Treasury then prints a Federal Reserve Note based upon amount of the bond. Look at your bills it says on the front Federal Reserve NOTE. These bonds bears interest to the FRB. We are basically paying interest to print our own money.

In essence we perceive a dollar to have value. So if you dump a Trillion dollars into the market, you've basically diluted the value of the dollar. That process is called quantitative easement. Yes more money is floating about but it keeps getting less and less value.

Let's talk gold. Gold has not went up or down in over 100 years. Same gold will buy you the same amount of goods and services as it did 100 years ago. What has gone up is the amount of cash it takes to buy.

German, Max Warburg was head of German banks, and England financiers were part of the International bankers that set up FRB. Then they loaned US money for printing currency. Why are International folks involved instead of our own Treasury?

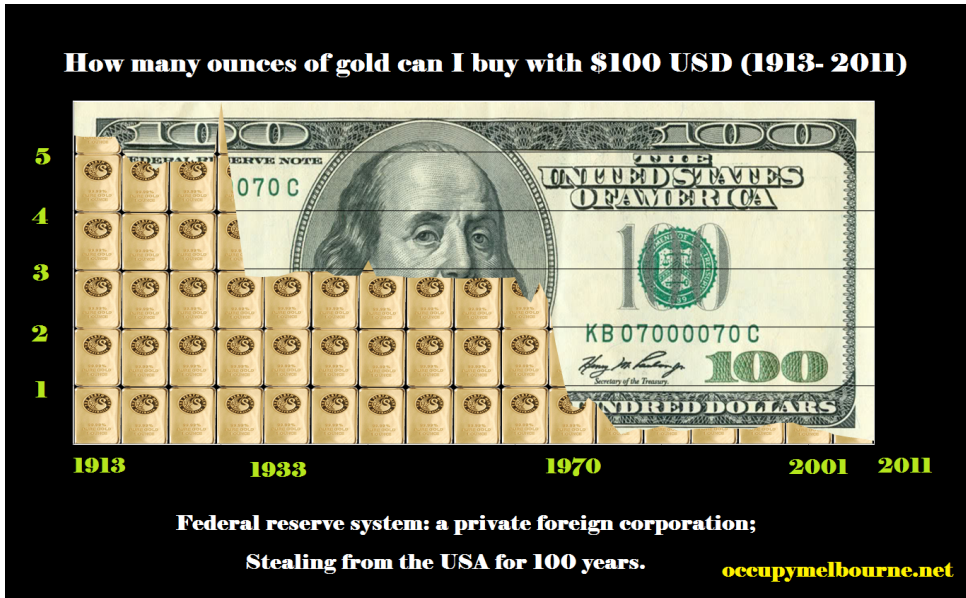
How does this affect grassroots revolutionaries? We need to get rid of privately owned central banks! Thomas Jefferson said, "If the American people ever allow private banks to control the issue of their money, first by inflation and then by deflation, the banks and corporations that will grow up around them (around the banks), will deprive the people of their property until their children will wake up homeless on the continent their fathers conquered."¹⁴¹ George Washington said in a letter, Jan. 9, 1787 "Paper money has had the effect in your state that it will ever have, to ruin commerce, oppress the honest, and open the door to every species of fraud and injustice."

Our world is based on fiat paper money, meaning it is not backed by any commodity. No gold, no silver, no commodity, baseless paper. We strive to work to get paper money. It is a magic spell or wizardry that creates this myth that paper money is our goal. To fully understand this, listen to this

¹⁴¹ <http://educatorssite.com/?p=904>

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podcast.¹⁴² Mike Maloney speaks further on the hidden secrets of money.¹⁴³ Maloney has a whole series which is an eye opening truth regarding money¹⁴⁴. Well worth your time to watch. Also this video shows the deception between reality and perceived reality of wealth.¹⁴⁵

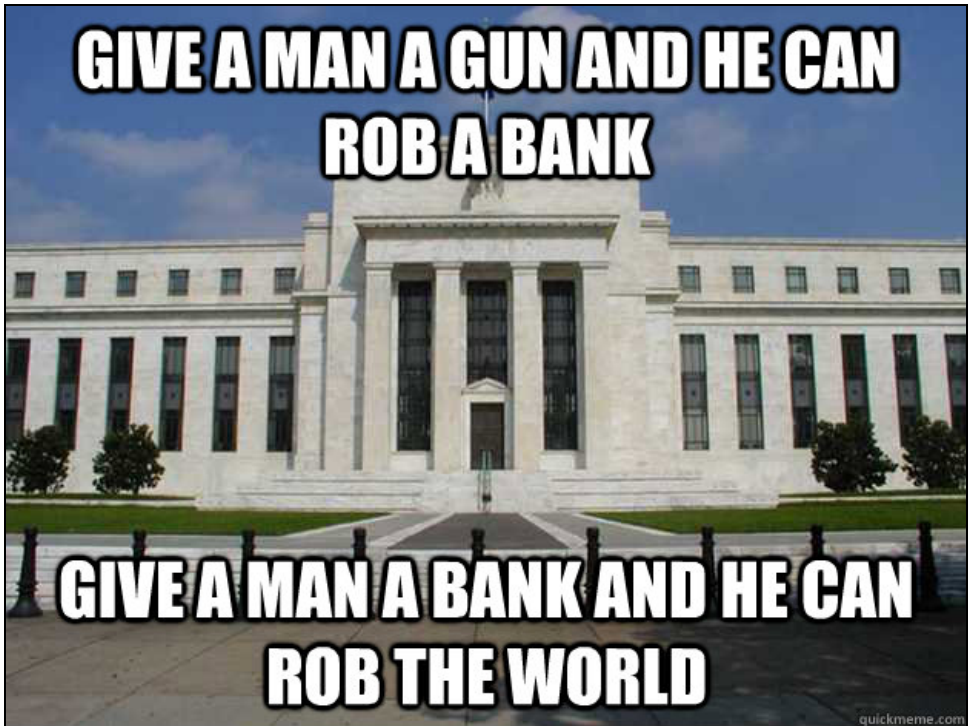


¹⁴² https://youtu.be/05g_mHaSB8s


¹⁴³ <https://youtu.be/DyV0OfU3-FU>

¹⁴⁴ <https://goldsilver.com/hidden-secrets/episode-1/>

¹⁴⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=slTF_XXoKAAQ



*This is a promissory note
of a private corporation*



It is not backed by anything of value. The entire economy is based around the shuffling of I O U notes, which only exists because of our belief that it is real. It is because we have allowed a private corporation to take over the money supply that the national debt exists, a debt that can never be repaid.

The image is a vertical rectangular graphic with a dark brown background. At the top, there is a line of italicized white text. Below this is a high-resolution image of a US one hundred dollar bill, featuring Benjamin Franklin. The bill is oriented horizontally. Below the bill, there is another line of italicized white text. The overall design is simple and direct, using high contrast between the text and the background.

What About Germany

When I was in college I had an art minor. I studied exclusively on Kaethe Kollwitz who was a German Expressionist. In her diary she spoke of the Dresden Society and Free Society which she was a member. **Die Brücke**¹⁴⁶ (**The Bridge**) was a group of German expressionist artists formed in Dresden in 1905, after which the Brücke Museum in Berlin was named. Founding members were Fritz Bleyl, Erich Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. Later members were Emil Nolde, Max Pechstein, and Otto Mueller. The seminal group had a major impact on the evolution of modern art in the 20th century and the creation of expressionism.

Progenitors of the movement later known as German Expressionism¹⁴⁷, Die Brücke formed in Dresden in 1905 as a bohemian collective of artists in staunch opposition to the older, established bourgeois social order of Germany. Their art confronted feelings of alienation from the modern world by reaching back to pre-academic forms of expression including woodcut prints, carved wooden sculptures, and "primitive" modes of painting. This quest for authentic emotion led to an expressive style characterized by heightened color and a direct, simplified approach to form.

Expressionism was a modernist movement, initially in poetry and painting, originating in Germany at the beginning of the 20th century. Its typical trait is to present the world solely from a subjective perspective, distorting it radically for emotional effect in order to evoke moods or ideas. Expressionist artists sought to express the meaning of emotional experience rather than physical reality.

Kaethe wrote about how these artist groups met weekly. Drinking tea and discussing social issues. The artists were poets, playwrights, musicians, artists, a few philosophers, and writers. What each took away

¹⁴⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Die_Br%C3%BCcke

¹⁴⁷ <http://www.theartstory.org/movement-die-brucke.htm>

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from their weekly soiree was an idea or consensus of their talks. These groups were able through the arts to engage society in relation to social issues. It was through the arts that Germany thoughts were moved more leftists in the late 1800's.

If we look back at the folk artists of the Sixties we see the fabric of expressionism. It was the poets, writers, musicians in America that helped shape public consciousness. Playwrights, art, books, music all were vital components for social change.

Present fascists regimes and Trump's administration is best fought through the arts. Yes, social protesting is just as important. But the leftist ideals and mindset has to emanate from the social consciousness. To achieve this it has to be a coordinated effort from the arts communities.

The artists should begin another modern expressionist movement. Societies made up of various art forms artists. Art must begin to reflect the leftists ideals. Or simply how the current social justice issues need to be on the public minds. The artists rising up from this new movement can help shape public consciousness.

When people think of art, they think of bizarre creations and beautiful intricate paintings hung up in museums. Essentially, the process of bringing an artwork to life is a creative one but art itself can also serve a purpose. It can be used as a way to raise awareness about issues that affect us in our daily lives.¹⁴⁸

Art can heal us, inspire us, and alter our brain chemistry.¹⁴⁹ With so much talk about the evidence of the positive effects of yoga and meditation, you might be surprised at what scientific research also says about how art affects the brain. Long before modern neuroscience, artists were creating works to inspire people and today complex brain imaging scans can show us just how art changes the physiology of our brains. Contemplation, observing, and taking in beauty all stimulate pleasure centers within the brain while increasing blood flow by up to 10% in the

¹⁴⁸ <http://www.hongkiat.com/blog/public-awareness-artwork/>

¹⁴⁹ <http://upliftconnect.com/art-changes-consciousness/>

medial orbitofrontal cortex. This can lead to an elevated state of consciousness, well being, and better emotional health.

Niklas Luhmann, in his book *Art as a Social System*,¹⁵⁰ states: In disposing over awareness, consciousness is not usually aware of itself and available to answer questions That it can be drawn upon by social communication only in a unique manner that art can.



***Seed Corn Must Not Be Planted* Kaethe Kollwitz 1942**

Prison Reform

Any attempts to “fix” the correctional system can never be beneficial until the root cause is addressed. [Poverty and crime](#)¹⁵¹ have an “intimate” relationship described by experts from all fields. The United Nations and the World Bank both rank crime high on the list of obstacles to a country’s development. Recent reports reflect that well [over half of the USA](#)¹⁵² citizens expenses are equal or greater than their income. Wage inequality is the one class separation the capitalists consistently works towards.

On the heels of the lies of President Trump tells, one is most damning. Despite Trump’s promises to punish firms that offshore American jobs, [56 percent](#)¹⁵³ of the top companies receiving taxpayer dollars continued to send American jobs overseas. Over half of the top companies denied US workers jobs in the first 100 days of Trump’s administration. In [Oklahoma](#)¹⁵⁴, unemployment rates fluctuate widely.

It is no wonder why America is leading of all the countries in incarceration. Half our workers can’t make ends meet, half of all potential jobs are offshore by the neoliberals and neo fascists. Union busting of the capitalists weaken the labor laws and deny worker rights. Marxists essentially see [crime and deviance](#)¹⁵⁵ as defined by the ruling class and used as a means of [social control](#)¹⁵⁶ -if you don’t conform then you will be punished. Institutions like the police, the justice system, prisons and schools, the family and religion are there to encourage you to conform.

The recent prison riot in Hinton, OK reflects a growing trend in correctional settings. The riot was said to have been orchestrated by correctional staff. The riot was between the Irish Mob and United Aryan Brotherhood. Just a few weeks earlier, Oklahoma Correctional director Joe

¹⁵¹ <http://www.nationaldialoguenetwork.org/poverty-and-crime/>

¹⁵² <http://money.cnn.com/2017/06/27/pf/expenses/index.html>

¹⁵³

<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/591dd51215cf7dccddaec8c/t/5925bd131b10e3761b30e717/1495645462261/OffshoringReport.pdf>

¹⁵⁴ <http://newsok.com/article/5554464>

¹⁵⁵ http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/crime_deviance.htm

¹⁵⁶

<http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/sociology/crime-and-deviance/marxism-and-crime/>

Allbaugh asked for \$700 million [increase](#)¹⁵⁷. A well played riot in the press can and did change the public perception. In California, a Mexican Mafia gang had paid a correctional [staff](#)¹⁵⁸ to allow a riot. The Captain who committed suicide was a lieutenant at Folsom while I was incarcerated there. I can personally attest to many correctional officers corruption on many levels. There are many examples of correctional manipulation of riots leading to increased budget requests in the news. This manipulation of incarcerated individuals is horrific.

One possible option if Oklahoma eliminates the death penalty are [private prisons](#)¹⁵⁹. However, that may not be the case in Oklahoma. In 1985, while attending college, I visited family in Oklahoma's capital who were well placed within the then Democrat held powerbase. Basically, the private prison industry was courting legislators with pre-filled legislative bills to be introduced allowing for private prisons in Oklahoma. The trade off with the Democrat leaders if such legislation passed, free stock with the private prison corporation. [Ten years later](#)¹⁶⁰, the Democrats sold out Oklahoma for private prisons. I knew of this "stocks for votes" proposal as I read it verbatim during the spring of 1986. Rigged politics is part of the systemic problem within the correctional setting.

Since 1973, [153 persons](#)¹⁶¹ have been exonerated from death row in the United States. The horrific execution of [Clayton Lockett](#)¹⁶² age 38 on April 29, 2014, by the Oklahoma Department of Corrections, the [Oklahoma](#)

¹⁵⁷

<http://kfor.com/2017/06/27/its-already-hit-the-iceberg-oklahoma-prisons-overflowing-with-inmates/>

¹⁵⁸

<http://m.sfgate.com/news/article/Anguish-prison-guard-My-job-has-killed-me-2810483.php>

¹⁵⁹

¹⁶⁰

<http://deathpenaltyenglish101.weebly.com/private-prisons.html>

<http://www.tulsaworld.com/archives/senators-approve-private-prison-bill/article-22c45947-f539-5a90-a03c-6a0a2c6aa906.html>

¹⁶¹

¹⁶²

<https://deathpenaltyinfo.org/innocence-and-death-penalty>

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/30/oklahoma-execution-botched-clayton-lockett>

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[Death Penalty Review Commission](#)¹⁶³, ODPRC, was formed. Locket was administered an untested mixture of chemicals that caused him to have a heart attack and die 43 minutes after the drugs were administered. Just recently, they released their [year-long study](#)¹⁶⁴ with recommendations for the State of Oklahoma. It is a first of its kind in the United States.

The ODPRC came together shortly after the state imposed a suspension on executions in October 2015. The moratorium was imposed at the request of the Oklahoma Attorney General to allow for a grand jury investigation of Oklahoma's execution protocol. In May 2016, the grand jury issued a highly critical report and exposed many deeply troubling failures in Oklahoma's execution process. Notably, the grand jury report concluded: "justice has been delayed for the victims' families and the citizens of Oklahoma, and confidence further shaken in the ability of this State to carry out the death penalty."

The bipartisan committee just [released their findings](#)¹⁶⁵ of which state legislators will hopefully enact new laws. The commissioners endorsed 46 recommendations, including improvements to Oklahoma's criminal justice system, policy changes, improved funding.

Former Governor [Brad Henry](#)¹⁶⁶, a co-chair of ODPRC, said, "the thing most surprising, even shocking, is the depth and persistence of faults within the criminal justice system and the state's death penalty procedures." At the press conference, he told 41 reporters, "at some point it is likely we have executed an innocent person."

¹⁶³ <http://okdeathpenaltyreview.org/about/>

¹⁶⁴ <http://okdeathpenaltyreview.org/the-report/>

¹⁶⁵

<http://city-sentinel.com/2017/06/members-of-the-oklahoma-death-penalty-review-commission-worked-dutifully-for-one-year-read-the-report/>

¹⁶⁶

<http://city-sentinel.com/2017/06/members-of-the-oklahoma-death-penalty-review-commission-worked-dutifully-for-one-year-read-the-report/>

[The Economist](#)¹⁶⁷ reported in 2009 that many states facing budgetary crisis would eliminate the death penalty. [Studies](#)¹⁶⁸ do show that the cost of execution is far more expensive than [life in prison](#)¹⁶⁹. Oklahoma under the Republican-controlled legislature for eight years has left the state near bankrupt status. Cash-strapped Oklahoma recently had the DOC director ask for more [money](#)¹⁷⁰, approximately \$700 million more over ten years.

[Oklahoma](#)¹⁷¹ has exonerated ten persons from death row since 1981. Oklahoma currently has [48](#)¹⁷² persons on death row. In America, non-death penalty prisoners exonerated, since 1989, there have been more than 1,400 exonerations in America, including [27](#)¹⁷³ in Oklahoma. Innocent persons could have been executed as former Gov. Henry states, which makes a strong case to abolish the death penalty. With all these plus whatever may be buried by Oklahoma's murky swamp of corruptions, it may be best to abolish the death penalty. Too much is at stake to get it wrong, again, by any means.

While [Karl Marx](#)¹⁷⁴ did not write a lot about this, his theories have spurned some critical analysis. Marx said, "[Plainly speaking](#)¹⁷⁵, and

¹⁶⁷ <http://www.economist.com/node/13279051>

¹⁶⁸ <https://deathpenaltyinfo.org/documents/FactSheet.pdf>

¹⁶⁹

<https://www.forbes.com/sites/kellyphillipserb/2014/05/01/considering-the-death-penalty-your-tax-dollars-at-work/#367b187b664b>

¹⁷⁰

<http://kfor.com/2017/06/27/its-already-hit-the-iceberg-oklahoma-prisons-overflowing-with-inmates/>

¹⁷¹

https://deathpenaltyinfo.org/innocence?inno_name=&exonerated=&state_innocence=34&race=All&dna=All

¹⁷² https://deathpenaltyinfo.org/state_by_state

¹⁷³ <http://newsok.com/article/5341408>

¹⁷⁴

<http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft4q2nb3dn&chunk.id=d0e1788&toc.id=d0e559&brand=ucpress>

¹⁷⁵

<http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft4q2nb3dn&doc.view=popup&chunk.id=fnd0e2397>

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dispensing with all paraphrases, punishment is nothing but a means of society to defend itself against the infraction of its vital conditions, whatever may be their character. Now, what a state of society is which knows of no better instrument for its own defense than the hangman, and which proclaims through the “leading journal of the world” [The Times] its own brutality as eternal law?” What Marx barely hints at here, but central to the Marxist argument, is it is precisely with its use that punishment is unjust. Marx further states his premise, “The legal system is an apparatus created to secure the interests of the dominant class.” His writings further expose the ruling class keeps downtrodden the working class. The bourgeoisie capitalists class imposes their will upon the working class in acts as the [authoritarian](#)¹⁷⁶ manner.

True revolutionary change for the criminal justice machine must come from our Marxists ideas. The root cause is set up with the capitalists’ authority over the workers. The workers must organize, rise up, and gain control of the ways and means of production. This will surely bring revolutionary change inside the criminal justice system. If we, as a society, can do this, then we will not lead with the highest incarceration rates.

[Mark Salay](#)¹⁷⁷ of KWBU says, “The use of prison labor, and its meager compensation, has long been a contentious issue. But while it is private prisons that get a lot of [media attention](#)¹⁷⁸ for their for-profit business model, wages for the incarcerated in public and federal prisons, which hold the vast majority of inmates, have declined over the past two decades.”

Data compiled by the Prison Policy Initiative shows that the average incarcerated worker in state and federal prison now earns [86 cents](#)¹⁷⁹ per day, a 7 cent decrease from 2001 when inmates earned 93 cents for a day’s work.

¹⁷⁶ <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1872/10/authority.htm>

¹⁷⁷

<http://kwbu.org/post/when-prison-costs-are-steep-and-pay-close-nothing#stream/0>

¹⁷⁸

<http://www.npr.org/2016/08/25/491340335/investigation-into-private-prisons-reveals-crowding-under-staffing-and-inmate-de>

¹⁷⁹ <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2017/04/10/wages/>

The nation's incarceration rate has spiked as much as [500 percent in the last 40 years](#)¹⁸⁰, driven in part by the War on Drugs and bipartisan “tough-on-crime” policies. While the prison population has skyrocketed, government funding for housing the prisoners have not kept up. That has forced the incarcerated to help pay for the high cost of their imprisonment through steep fees. Coupled with low or in some cases non-existent wages, that has left inmates in destitute conditions throughout their sentence.

“The cost of living goes up every year on the outside and they don't just account for that in prison,” said Cole Dorsey, an organizer for the [Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee](#)¹⁸¹, an offshoot of the Industrial Workers of the World union.

The Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee (IWOC), website says, they are a prisoner-led section of the [Industrial Workers of the World](#)¹⁸². They struggle to end prison slavery along with allies and supporters on the outside. On September 9, 2016, they were part of a coalition of inside and outside groups that launched the largest prison strike in US history. Resistance to prison slavery continues with work stoppages, hunger strikes and other acts of resistance to business as usual.

But it will take a mass movement - inside and out - to abolish prison slavery. They now have [branches](#)¹⁸³ in over 15 prisons and their membership continues to grow. They invite all those who agree with their statement of purpose to [join them](#)¹⁸⁴ and to start a local branch in their prison, city, or trailer park. IWW membership is free to those incarcerated and is based on income for those on the outside. They ask supporters to sponsor a prisoner's membership for just \$5 a month.

Incarcerated people are legally slaves as per the 13th Amendment which abolished “slavery and involuntary servitude,

¹⁸⁰ <http://www.sentencingproject.org/issues/incarceration/>

¹⁸¹ <https://incarceratedworkers.org/>

¹⁸² <http://iww.org/>

¹⁸³ <https://incarceratedworkers.org/branches>

¹⁸⁴ <https://incarceratedworkers.org/get-involved>

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except as a punishment for a crime". We are legally slaves. If you've been to prison you'd know we are treated like slaves.

Billions are made annually off their backs. Outrageously priced or grossly inadequate privatized 'services' like healthcare, food, phone calls, assault our humanity - they feed us like animals, suck our families dry, and when sick leave us to die. The government spends as much as an elite college tuition per person to keep each of us incarcerated, but this money does not develop us as human beings, reduce crime or make our communities safer.

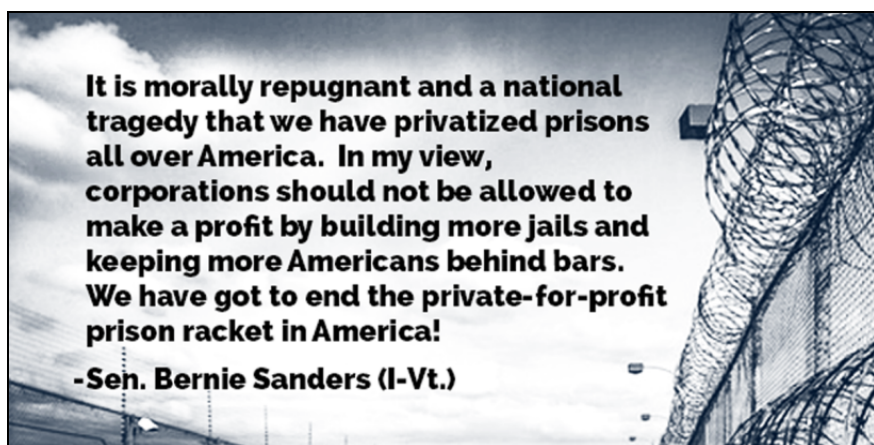
They also profit from their labor. At least [half of the nation's 1.5 million](#)¹⁸⁵ of those imprisoned in the United States have jobs yet are paid pennies an hour, or even nothing at all. Many of them perform the essential work needed to run the prisons themselves - mopping cellblock floors, preparing and serving food, filing papers and other prison duties. Others of work in "[correction industries](#)" [programs](#)¹⁸⁶ performing work in areas such as clothing and textile, computer aided design, electronics, and recycling activities. Some even sub-contract with private corporations such as Sprint, Starbucks, Victoria's Secret, and much more.

Prisoners are some of the most exploited workers in the country. There is no minimum wage for prison labor. The average wage is 20 cents an hour, with some states not paying a wage at all. Up to 80% of wages can be withheld by prison officials. There are very few safety regulations and no worker's compensation for injury on the job. While in prison, they try to earn money to support their families, themselves and pay victim restitution yet these wages prevent them from that. They believe that as workers they are guaranteed the same protections and wages as other workers. IWOC is working to abolish prison slavery and this system that does not correct anyone or make our communities safer.

¹⁸⁵

<https://www.themarshallproject.org/2016/09/27/a-primer-on-the-nationwide-prisoners-strike#.fGVBXf1lt>

¹⁸⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federal_Prison_Industries#Activities



The late Rose Braz, a longtime staffer and member of Critical Resistance emphasized this point in a [2008 interview](#)¹⁸⁷. “A prerequisite to seeking any social change is the naming of it,” she said. “In other words, even though the goal we seek may be far away, unless we name it and fight for it today, it will never come.” This is the starting point of abolition, connecting a radical critique of prisons and other forms of state violence with a broader transformative vision.¹⁸⁸

In a recent article for Jacobin, Dan Berger, Mariame Kaba, and David Stein report¹⁸⁹ that these strategies and tactics harmonize with, inspire, and are inspired by many other left traditions. Socialists do not fight for trade unions in order to institutionalize capitalist social relations or build an aristocracy of labor. They do so in order to create durable structures that undermine the power of employers to exploit workers. And they do so with a radical humanist tradition in mind as well – to make actual people’s lives better, to overcome sexual harassment, to reduce workplace injuries, to build solidarity among workers, and, ideally, “to create the new world in the shell of the old.”

¹⁸⁷

<http://dissidentvoice.org/2008/07/organizing-to-abolish-the-prison-industrial-complex/>

¹⁸⁸

<https://jacobinmag.com/2017/08/prison-abolition-reform-mass-incarceration>

¹⁸⁹

<https://jacobinmag.com/2017/08/prison-abolition-reform-mass-incarceration>

Corporations and governments collude in prison slavery racket



In this Feb. 1, 2012 photo, inmate William Adams, of Hazlehurst, Ga., sews a laundry bag while working in a garment shop at Coxsackie Correctional Facility in Cocksackie, N.Y. New York prisons instituted a mandatory work program in the early 1990s and most of their 56,000 inmates have jobs, earning as little as 10 cents an hour. | Mike Groll / AP

Whose money is it? Many departments of corrections (DOCs) supplement their state budgets with business deals. These deals mean free or under 50-cents-per-hour use of prison workers. It's a billion-dollar industry that many Americans know nothing about.

Over 50 prominent American corporations have been exposed for using prison laborers to reduce their payroll costs over the last several years. Prior to 2016, organic grocery giant Whole Foods sold a \$12-a-pound bag of tilapia that was labeled "from sustainable American family farms." This family farm was actually Colorado prisoners making 74 cents a day¹⁹⁰ or less. And their fancy goat cheese? The goats and milk were produced by the same prisoners. Whole Foods saved money and the Colorado

¹⁹⁰news.vice.com/article/whole-foods-expensive-cheese-and-the-dilemma-of-cheap-prison-labor

Department of Corrections likely made a bundle.

Some McDonald's crew member uniforms are made by prisoners making even less money¹⁹¹—a lot less—than the ones who wear the uniforms. Walmart has been known to buy produce from prison-run gardens. Female inmates in South Carolina have in the past sewn intimate apparel for Victoria's Secret. In fact, whistleblowing¹⁹² inmates were placed in solitary confinement when they exposed that they had been told to remove "Made in Honduras" labels and replace them with "Made in America" labels. In 1993, AT&T laid off thousands of union employees in call centers to be replaced by a prisoner answering¹⁹³ call center. Those prisoners made less than \$2 a day.

The website¹⁹⁴ of Buycott, which encourages consumers to make sure the companies they shop with match their principles, lists many surprising American companies who have relied on exploited prison labor. They include: Abbott Laboratories, Autozone, Bank of America, Bayer, Cargill, Caterpillar, Chevron, Costco, John Deere, Eli Lilly, GlaxoSmithKline, International Paper, Johnson & Johnson, Sears, Koch Industries, Mary Kay, Merck, Motorola, Pfizer, ConAgra Foods, Starbucks, United Airlines, UPS, Verizon, Wendy's. When you purchase products from these companies, you might be unknowingly participating in the prison labor system.

On a side note, but worth mentioning: The hidden fact is that just ten companies own the world markets for most of the products we use in our homes everyday. Many of the corporate titans of the Trump era (and within his administration) are essentially the same exploiters who have dominated our economy for the past century. Yet what is more pronounced today is that some of those companies are exploiting prison workers by using a loophole in the 13th Amendment¹⁹⁵ to the U.S. Constitution.

¹⁹¹[aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/09/slavery-prison-system-170901082522072.html](https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/09/slavery-prison-system-170901082522072.html)

¹⁹²

[motherjones.com/politics/2008/07/what-do-prisoners-make-victorias-secret](https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2008/07/what-do-prisoners-make-victorias-secret)

¹⁹³

<https://www.prisonlegalnews.org/news/1993/apr/15/att-exploits-prison-labor/>

¹⁹⁴

[buycott.com/campaign/companies/504/boycott-companies-that-use-prison-labor](https://www.buycott.com/campaign/companies/504/boycott-companies-that-use-prison-labor)

¹⁹⁵[peoplesworld.org/article/florida-prisoners-on-strike-demand-locked-up-voices-be-heard/](https://www.peoplesworld.org/article/florida-prisoners-on-strike-demand-locked-up-voices-be-heard/)

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A recent National Review¹⁹⁶ article by Chandra Bozelko speaks directly and personally about prison slavery. “Getting Congress to amend the tax code and define even unpaid prison labor as employment in the coming session would trade the language of oppression—calling what inmates do slavery—for the language of power—calling their activity employment—and change prisoners’ mindsets and views of themselves,” she writes. “In addition to changing prisoners’ self-concept, allowing them to collect unemployment benefits can change their ability to support themselves when they leave custody and help them remain law-abiding and free.”

Prison Policy Initiative¹⁹⁷ lists state by state the average prison worker’s wage. In several states—mostly in the South—prisoners receive absolutely no pay for jobs they may do. In some others, they may earn up to \$56 a month for a full-time 7-hour-a-day job. The most well-paid may break \$100 a month, again, for a full-time job. And these numbers, in many cases, are going down, not up.

Mark Salay of KWBU says, “The use of prison labor, and its meager compensation, has long been a contentious issue. But while it is private prisons that get a lot of media attention¹⁹⁸ for their for-profit business model, wages for the incarcerated in public and federal prisons, which hold the vast majority of inmates, have declined over the past two decades.”

The nation’s incarceration rate has spiked as much as 500 percent¹⁹⁹ in the last 40 years, driven in part by the War on Drugs and bipartisan “tough-on-crime” policies. While the prison population has skyrocketed, government funding for housing the prisoners has not kept up. That has forced the incarcerated to help pay for the high cost of their imprisonment through steep fees. Coupled with low or in some cases non-existent wages, that has left inmates in destitute conditions over the course of their sentence.

¹⁹⁶ <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/443747/prison-labor-laws-wages>

¹⁹⁷ https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/wage_policies.html

¹⁹⁸ www.npr.org/2016/08/25/491340335/investigation-into-private-prisons-reveals-crowding-under-staffing-and-inmate-deals

¹⁹⁹ <http://www.sentencingproject.org/issues/incarceration/>

“The cost of living goes up every year on the outside and they don’t just account for that in prison,” said Cole Dorsey, an organizer for the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee²⁰⁰ (IWOC), an offshoot of the Industrial Workers of the World union.

IWOC allies itself with prisoners and states on their website:

“Prisoners are some of the most exploited workers in the country. There are very few safety regulations and no worker’s compensation for injury on the job. While in prison, [prisoners] try to earn money to support their families, themselves and pay victim restitution yet these wages prevent them from that.”

IWOC says it is working to abolish prison slavery and argues the current corrections system “does not correct anyone or make our communities safer.”

An honest and heartfelt discussion on exploiting prison workers is necessary for any true change to happen. Amending the 13th Amendment as it relates to prison slavery is a must. Becoming aware of the plight of these exploited workers by society is another.

Only ten corporations control most of the household brands we all buy²⁰¹.

²⁰⁰ <https://incarceratedworkers.org/>

²⁰¹ <http://www.convergencealimentaire.info/map.jpg>

It's Christmas Time....Capitalism's ruin of children by sex trafficking

"Capitalism ruins lives, as seen in the documentary on child sex trafficking, I AM JANE DOE²⁰²," Mark Maxey, Movement 4 People's Democracy National Coordinator states. "Backpage owners make \$71 Million in 2012, \$112.7 Million in 2013, \$134.9 Million in 2014, and \$153 Million in 2015, the documentary states."

\$471.6 Million in 4 years, almost half a billion dollars. Some of that profit was made by pimps selling 12-year-olds - 17-year-old abducted girls. "Don't tell me capitalism and the lure of wealth does not ruin peoples lives," Maxey reiterated. "The owners of Backpage got wealthy beyond imagination while the lives of the little girls were drugged, raped (some 20 times a day), through online sex ads."

Tonya spent night after night in different hotel rooms, with different men, all at the command of someone she once trusted. She was held against her will, beaten and made to feel like she had no other option at the time, all by the man she thought she loved.

When Tonya²⁰³ was 13, she met Eddie (a pseudonym) at the apartment she was living in with her mother in the Dallas, Texas, area. His estranged wife was the property manager. Tonya was classmates with Eddie's stepdaughter, so the two would often see each other at the apartment and in the local grocery store. It was there that the two first exchanged numbers. This is how Tonya was first recruited for sex trafficking.

Rebecca Fairley Raney states in her story, Unseen Victims of Sex Trafficking²⁰⁴, she says...

"A few years ago, social worker Steven Procopio was listening to a

²⁰² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/I_Am_Jane_Doe

²⁰³ <https://www.ice.gov/features/human-trafficking-victim-shares-story>

²⁰⁴ <https://www.apa.org/monitor/2017/04/sex-trafficking.aspx>

Mark Maxey

discussion among a group of middle-aged homeless men at a Boston health-care agency when he recognized that his group had a terrible secret in common: Many of these men, at some point in their lives, had been trafficked. For Procopio, the realization led to a wholesale shift in context for working with men and boys who suffer from complex trauma."

"Capitalism kills, and the by-products from Capitalism ruins people's lives," Maxey says. "We must in 2019 begin a revolution by CRUSHING CAPITALISM!"

Backpage at one time was owned by Village Voice Media. VVM had a long history of progressive anti-establishment reporting. When the owners of VVM were exposed as owners of Backpage what they did next, was typical of how capitalism corrupts people.

The owners sold VVM but kept Backpage. No wonder, making \$471 Million profit in 4 years, while destroying the lives of young girls.

That story line above²⁰⁵ and others^{206 207} on how Backpage escaped for years before being took down, is how capitalism ruins lives.

CRUSH CAPITALISM!

How these entrepreneurs hid behind the law, used illegal means to make their wealth, and some of that wealth at the hands of underage girls is sickening!

²⁰⁵ <https://goo.gl/nbJt59>

²⁰⁶ <https://goo.gl/AAGryC>

²⁰⁷ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Backpage>

Final Push

“... the young people are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and the necessity to eliminate the evil conditions that exist.”
[Malcolm X](#)²⁰⁸, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers' Power.

History has a way of repeating itself. Our movement against the oppressor has shown many times clusters of persons rising up to overthrow the status quo. During the recent Occupy Movement tens of thousands gathered to bring awareness of wage inequality; removing corporations from the influence of politics and the more balanced distribution of money. Sen. Bernie Sanders impressive campaign run of 2016 garnered 10,000's spectators at each event to hear his message. Much of what he spoke for had been his 30-year message. Grassroots movements are growing exponentially to confront the fascists rise. Now is the time for the individual workers to rise up, History shows it is when individual workers arise change happens.

I worked on the national data team for Sen. Bernie Sanders 2016. We processed all data incoming from events and rallies. We witnessed the numbers that his message resonated with. It was about US, the people uniting under a goal. There were 100,000's of persons a massing. Sanders fully knows how rigged our economy is. “(Milton) Friedman’s ideology caused enormous damage to the American middle class and to working families here and around the world” (Age of InEquality, The Failed Prophet, page 45, Verso Books 2017, New York, USA.) “My colleagues in the Senate and I are picking up the pieces of the banking system brought to the edge of collapse by this theory of deregulation and by the insatiable greed of a small number of wealthy financiers ...” In Oklahoma, during our recent legislative session, the Republicans chose to cave in for the fossil fuel industry. In our cash strapped state, the people were wanting a 7% gross production tax on the oil and gas industry to fund our state budget. However, the Republican dominated legislature chose not to listen to the citizens. They voted to show preferential favor to the fossil fuel industry. As it turned out over half a million dollars were contributed to these legislators by this industry.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ http://www.goodreads.com/author/show/17435.Malcolm_X

²⁰⁹

<http://oklahomawatch.org/2017/05/23/oil-and-gas-donations-to-legislators/>

History follows that in the early 1900's the rampant legislative abuses were brought to light by the muckrakers. Modern times manifest through The Young Turks, Monthly Review, Democracy Now, Peoples World, The Nation, and others are the modern day muckrakers. The masses need to get behind the progressive leftist news for the truth. Mainstream media, the 6 conglomerates who own 90% of all media is biased.²¹⁰ Choosing to get the full and right truth one must leave corporate media outlets and embrace the leftist progressive news outlets.

In the past forty years, global inequality has risen alarmingly. "With respect to the forces responsible for inequality around the world, the one that stands out is the inability of working people and peasants to mount credible resistance."²¹¹ "In recent years new protest movements have broken out around the world, all of them arguably rooted in burgeoning inequality or the structures that cause it." Here Yates echoes my thoughts and those of the communist party. It is the workers who must rise up. It's when the 99% awakens that their numbers are larger than the 1%. History again is at the moment when the masses revolt against the rigged tyrannical systems. During a late night legislature budget hearing, lots of Occupy and Our Revolution protesters showed up at the Oklahoma Capitol.²¹² Even though the meeting of the legislators was late at night, the protesters made their presence known. At one point their presence caused the legislative chambers to be locked down. The already taxed citizens were also being faced with a sin tax on cigarettes to help fund the budget deficit. Two tobacco companies sued Oklahoma over this proposed tax affecting the burdened poor.²¹³ Movement 4 People's Democracy is a grassroots organization on all fronts strives to crush capitalism!

²¹⁰

<http://www.businessinsider.com/these-6-corporations-control-90-of-the-media-in-america-2012-6>

²¹¹Measuring Global Inequality, Michael D. Yates, Monthly Review November 2016, Vol. 68 No. 6.

<https://monthlyreview.org/2016/11/01/measuring-global-inequality/>

²¹²

<http://kfor.com/2017/05/23/gas-and-oil-production-tax-bill-advances-out-of-committee-after-late-night-meeting/>

²¹³ <http://newsok.com/article/5552071>

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Recent Union activity within the Industrial Workers of the World, shows that people are fighting back. From Starbucks to Burgerville, and Stardust singers on Broadway²¹⁴, IWW has been a tool for individuals to fight back. Even within IWW is the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee last fall successfully helped stage strikes behind prison walls regarding prisoner work reform. This gained international media coverage. From these examples, Occupy, Our Revolution, IWW, IWOC, have shown people are stepping up to resist. New muckrakers have sprung up to report the truth.

²¹⁴ <https://www.iww.org/history/campaigns>

Appendix B - Reader's Guide to Marxist Classics.

This is a reprint from an older book but valuable for academic research into Marxism. Prepared and Edited by MAURICE CORNFORTH, London
First Published in 1952.

FOREWORD

This Readers' Guide has been prepared with the object of helping both students engaged in self-study of the Marxist Classics and tutors of political education classes. It aims at giving a survey of works available to English readers in the current standard collections, covering the whole scope of Marxist-Leninist theory.

For this purpose the following classification of the material has been adopted:

1. Writings dealing briefly with the life and work of the four great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.
2. The most basic and comprehensive works setting forth the general principles of Marxism-Leninism.
3. Works dealing specifically with the general principles of dialectical and historical materialism.
4. Works dealing specifically with political economy.
5. Works concerned above all with the principles of the organisation, strategy and tactics of the working-class party, in the period up to the socialist revolution.
6. Works dealing with the development of the democratic revolution in Europe, and with the problems of the transition from the

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bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

7. Writings and speeches by Lenin and Stalin in the period of the preparation and carrying through of the Great October Socialist Revolution.
8. Writings and speeches by Stalin in the period of the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R., up to the Second World War.
9. Lastly, works by Lenin and Stalin on the national and colonial question.

A short introduction is provided to each part, and a summary is given of the contents of each work and of the principal lessons to be learned from it. Footnote references to other reading in connection with the subjects dealt with provide a system of cross-references. A reference index is provided at the end of the Guide, together with an index of titles showing in what English editions the various works referred to are to be found.

It is hoped that this plan will help readers to find their way among the many works available, to decide what to tackle and where to begin, and to get the maximum out of the study of each particular work read.

The Guide is also designed to help readers to find particular passages dealing with particular subjects, for purposes of study or reference. Lenin's advice that a socialist should form the habit of continually "consulting the classics" cannot be too much stressed. For example, the reader may be concerned in current political work with questions of nationalisation of industry and state capitalism. By the joint use of the reference index and the summaries he will be able easily to find where to consult Engels, Lenin and Stalin on this subject.

A word of advice to inexperienced readers.

In reading the Marxist classics one often comes upon whole passages which are found, at first reading, very hard to understand. Sometimes this is due to the inherent difficulty of the subject, sometimes to unfamiliar words, sometimes to the introduction of arguments against persons whom the reader has never before heard of and whose ideas are obscure or perverse. On encountering such difficulties, do not allow yourself to get "stuck." Even if you cannot understand the passage, read straight through

it; you will soon find yourself picking up the threads again when the difficult passage is past. And with more extensive reading and with greater familiarity with the subject, you can return to the work again and find that your first difficulty no longer exists or at all events is lessened. It. on the other hand, you stick at the difficult passage and puzzle over it too long, you may grow discouraged and never finish the book at all.

As regards difficult or unfamiliar words, it is hoped that this guide, and the various explanations and references given in it, may give some help in the mastery of such words. But words, like many other unfamiliar things, become understood as you become familiar with them and with their use.

Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action. In studying Marxism, it is never a question of learning certain phrases and definitions by heart, but of learning how the principles of Marxism were developed in the course of the struggle for socialism and how we in our turn can apply and develop Marxism in our own struggle, in proportion as we can advance our study of Marxism we are equipping ourselves the better for practical political work; and at the same time, in proportion as we ourselves gain political experience, we are equipping ourselves the better to understand and apply the teachings of Marxism.

1. MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN

INTRODUCTION

Marx and Engels were the founders of scientific socialism. Their teachings have been continued and developed by Lenin and Stalin. The classics of Marxism comprise the works of these four leaders and teachers. They contain the guiding ideas of the working class struggle for socialism, the building of socialist society and the transition to communism.

Marx and Engels showed that socialism was not the invention of dreamers but the inevitable outcome of the development of modern capitalist society.

They showed that capitalism was creating its own gravedigger in the person of the proletariat,²¹⁵ the working class. Only the class struggle of the proletariat and its victory over the bourgeoisie,²¹⁶ the capitalists, would rid humanity of exploitation of man by man.

Marx and Engels therefore taught the working class to be conscious of its own strength, of its own class interests, and to unite in a determined struggle against the capitalist class.

They discovered the laws of development of capitalist society, and proved scientifically that the development of the class struggle must inevitably lead to the fall of capitalism, to the conquest of power by the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

They taught that the working class must rally around itself all the forces discontented with capitalism, and lead them in the storming of capitalism. At the head of all working people it must establish its own political rule, crush the resistance of the exploiters and create a new classless communist society.

²¹⁵ *Proletariat* is a Latin word, denoting freemen—neither slaves nor serfs—who own no means of production. Thus the modern *working class*, which sells its labour power to the capitalists and from whose exploitation surplus value is produced, is a *proletariat*.

²¹⁶ *Bourgeoisie* is a French word, equivalent to “burgess” or “burgher,” meaning the merchants and manufacturers of the towns. Thus the modern *capitalist class* is a *bourgeoisie*.

And they taught that in order to achieve these aims the working class must have its own working class party, the Communist Party.

Lenin and Stalin have been the great continuers of the work of Marx and Engels in the new historical epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.

Lenin developed Marx's teachings in new historical conditions. Leninism is accordingly defined as "the Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution."

The theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism has been further creatively developed by Stalin—the great disciple and collaborator of Lenin, who now leads the Soviet peoples in the construction of communism and teaches and inspires the peoples of the whole world in the fight for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

In this part, we introduce to the reader a few of the works dealing specifically with the personalities and lives of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the services they rendered to the international working-class movement.

On Stalin, the reader should consult the official biography and the *Pravda* Articles published on his 70th birthday (*Soviet News* booklet).

ENGELS: Karl Marx, Speech at Graveside of Karl Marx

Engels' article on *Karl Marx*, written in 1877 for the German *People's Calendar*, gives an account of Marx's life and work. It shows how as editor of the *Rhenish Gazette* and *German-French Annual*, as member of the Communist League, as exile in England, as founder and leader of the First International, Marx lived and developed his ideas in the thick of the working class struggle.

Surveying Marx's theoretical work, Engels singles out as his two most important discoveries (a) the materialist conception of history, (b) "the final elucidation of the relation between capital and labour" through the discovery of the nature of surplus value. He briefly explains the meaning of

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these two discoveries.

In his *Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx* (Highgate Cemetery, March 17, 1883) Engels again refers to these two great discoveries of Marx. He concludes:

“Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position.... His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work.”

LENIN: The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism

In this brief article Lenin explains how the teachings of Marx “arose as a direct and immediate continuation of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and socialism.”

Lenin shows how, taking as his point of departure the highest point reached by his predecessors, Marx revolutionised both philosophy, political economy and socialism.

Marx's philosophy is *materialism*, and he deepened and developed materialism by means of the conception of dialectics. He carried materialism to its conclusion in historical materialism, by wedding it to the understanding of human society, showing that the economic order of society is the basis on which the whole political and ideological superstructure of society arises.

Marx then studied *the economic order of modern capitalist society*. The doctrine of surplus value is the cornerstone of his economic theory. He traced the development of capitalism from the first germs of commodity economy and simple exchange to its highest forms, to large-scale production, showing that the capitalist system creates the great power of combined labour.

Marx elaborated *the doctrine of the class struggle*, showing that the working class was the social force which was capable of becoming the

creator of a new social system.²¹⁷

LENIN: Karl Marx

This little book, which Lenin wrote in 1914 while in exile in Switzerland, contains a brief but comprehensive account of all the most essential elements of Marx's teachings, which it summarises under seven heads:

1. Philosophic Materialism
2. Dialectics
3. The Materialist Conception of History
4. Class Struggle
5. Marx's Economic Doctrine
6. Socialism
7. The Tactics of the Class Struggle of the Proletariat.

Here the reader will find (a) an outline of the main ideas of Marxism in each particular field of study, and (b) a vivid demonstration of the consistency and unity of conception of Marxism, which welds all the detailed studies into a single whole—the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

LENIN: Frederick Engels

Lenin's article written on the death of Engels in 1895, gives an account of the life of Engels, of his association with Marx and of his main works.

Summing up the teachings of Marx and Engels and their services to the working class, Lenin says:

“In a few words, the services rendered by Marx and Engels to the working class may be expressed thus. They taught the working class to know itself, and to become class conscious, and they substituted science for dreaming.... The emancipation of the proletariat must be the work of the proletariat itself. This is what

²¹⁷ Cf. Lenin, *Marxism and Revisionism*, where he shows how the revisionists “revise” all these three component parts of Marxist doctrine.

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Marx and Engels constantly taught.”

In his *Speech at the Unveiling of a Memorial to Marx and Engels* in 1919, Lenin again briefly summarised the services of Marx and Engels.

A further brief summary is given by Lenin in his article *On the Theory of Marxism*.

Stalin on Lenin

There are a number of speeches and articles on Lenin by J. V. Stalin.

In his speech *On the Death of Lenin*, delivered at the 2nd Congress of Soviets, January 26, 1924, Stalin took his famous vow to remain faithful to Lenin's behests. "There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party whose founder and leader was Comrade Lenin," he declared. Lenin's behests were:

To hold high and guard the purity of the great title of member of the Party.

To guard the unity of the Party.

To guard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants.

To consolidate and extend the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

To strengthen and extend the union of the working people of the whole world.

In an article on *Lenin as Organiser and Leader of the Russian Communist Party*, written on the 50th anniversary of Lenin's birth, Stalin explains that while there are some who convert Marxism into a set of "lifeless and meaningless formulas," Lenin attached prime importance to the translation of Marxism into reality, "testing every step by experience, learning from mistakes and teaching others how to build a new life."²¹⁸ He then shows how this was manifested in Lenin's work as organiser and leader of the Party.

In a speech *On Lenin* delivered at the Kremlin Military School in 1924 Stalin speaks of Lenin as he knew him, "as a man and a statesman." He describes how he first met Lenin, "the mountain eagle"; and then describes his modesty, his fidelity to principle, his faith in the masses, his revolutionary genius. He illustrates Lenin's outstanding characteristics by

²¹⁸ Cf. *History of C.P.S.U.(B)*, conclusion.

examples from his work and political leadership.

In his *Interview Given to the First American Labour Delegation* in 1927, Stalin deals with the main questions on which Lenin contributed something new in development of the doctrines of Marx.

Lenin wholly and entirely based himself on the principles of Marxism, but he developed Marx's doctrines further, in accordance with new historical conditions. That is why Leninism is defined as "Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions."²¹⁹ In particular, Lenin continued and added to Marxism on the following points:

1. the analysis of imperialism and monopoly capitalism;
2. the dictatorship of the proletariat;
3. the building of socialist economy;
4. the leading role of the working class;
5. the national and colonial question;
6. the working class party.

²¹⁹See Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism and On the Problems of Leninism*

2. THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM

INTRODUCTION

The substance of Marxism-Leninism, the basic principles of which have been applied and further developed in the theory and practice of world Communism, are expounded in a comparatively few fundamental works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

These are of varying degrees of difficulty, and it is important that the student should select the right works to tackle first. For the beginner, the best introduction to Marxism is to be found in Engels' *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*. This, therefore, should be read first; and with it may usefully be read *Anarchism or Socialism* by Stalin.

The *Communist Manifesto* comes next. It should not be attempted first, because there is a difficulty in reading it, arising from its very comprehensive character and compressed style.

Next, the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*.

These three works—*Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, the *Communist Manifesto*, and the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)*—together comprise the most essential basic reading. There is a tremendous amount of material in them, and the student will need to return to them in the light of further reading in order to master their contents more fully. But a preliminary reading of these three works provides an introduction to the whole range of problems covered by Marxism-Leninism.

The ten works included here under the heading of “basic principles” have been classified as follows:

- A. General Introduction to Marxist Theory: The *Manifesto* and *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, in which the fundamental ideas of scientific socialism are put forward; together with *Anarchism or Socialism*
- B. More Advanced Reading: - Engels' great theoretical work *Anti-Dühring*, and Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, where he dealt with fundamental questions of the programme of the

working class party.

- C. The History of the C.P.S.U.(B): - This shows how the teachings of Marxism were applied and further developed in the victorious struggle of the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin and Stalin.
- D. Leninism: - Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism*, in which he deals with the basic conceptions and policies of Leninism, as the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of proletarian revolution; and Stalin's *Problems of Leninism*, which deals especially with the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- E. Imperialism and the Proletarian Revolution: Lenin's *Imperialism*, which lays bare the nature of imperialism as the last stage of capitalism and the eve of the socialist revolution, and *State and Revolution*, which expounds the theory of the state and of the tasks of the working class in overthrowing capitalist class rule and instituting the rule of the working class, socialist democracy.

A. GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST THEORY

MARX AND ENGELS: The Manifesto of the Communist Party

The Manifesto of the Communist Party (or, as it is most often called, *The Communist Manifesto*) contains the first and most complete summarised statement of the theoretical principles of Marxism and of the strategy and tactics of Communism.

It was commissioned by the Second Congress of the Communist League in November 1847, and it was first published in February 1848.

This was a stormy period: the period of the February 1848 Revolution in France and of the climax of the Chartist Movement in Britain, when the working class appeared for the first time on the stage of history as an independent force.

Readers who want to know something of the background of the Manifesto should read the various prefaces—written by Marx and Engels to different editions (published with the *Manifesto*), and should also turn to Engels' *History of the Communist League* and Marx's *Class Struggles in France*, 1848-50.

The *Manifesto* was an epoch-making document. Up to that time, socialists had been putting forward utopian schemes (imaginary projects for an ideal society) or were engaging in secret conspiracies, while the rising working class movement lacked a revolutionary theory. The *Manifesto* signified the union of scientific socialism with the mass working-class movement.²²⁰

The fundamental ideas of the *Manifesto* may be summed up under five main headings:

1. The Theory of the Class Struggle

The history of all societies since the break-up of the primitive communes has been the history of class struggles.

In capitalist society a stage has been reached when the victory of the exploited class, the proletariat, over the ruling exploiting class, the bourgeoisie, will once and for all emancipate society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles.

The conception of the working class struggle set forth in the *Manifesto* follows from Marx's *materialist conception of history*, the essentials of which are summarised in Engels' prefaces to the English edition of 1888 and to the German edition of 1883.

2. The Development of Capitalist Society

Capitalism itself developed out of feudalism, and the capitalist class is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the mode of production and exchange.

The capitalist class has conquered exclusive political sway in the modern parliamentary state. In its development, it has played a most revolutionary role. It has brought into being the great new productive forces of modern industry. But in creating modern industry it has created its own gravediggers, the proletariat.

3. The Development of the Proletariat

The growth of the proletariat as a class is accompanied by the growth of its organisation, both economic and political.

²²⁰ See also Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*.

At first the proletariat is incoherent and scattered. It is originally dragged into the political arena by the bourgeoisie, which must appeal to the proletariat to help fight the remnants of feudalism. The *Manifesto* deals with the stages of political development through which the proletariat becomes organised into a class, and consequently into a political party, combined against the bourgeoisie.

While the proletariat fights against all relics of feudalism and for the fullest extension of democracy, it leads the struggle for socialism against the capitalists, a struggle which must culminate in the proletariat conquering power and becoming itself the ruling class.

4. From Socialism to Classless Society

With power in its hands, the proletariat makes drastic inroads into the power of the capitalists and into capitalist property relations.

From the rule of the proletariat will come classless society, in which will arise new people, new human relations—"an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

5. The Aims of the Communist Party

The *Manifesto* contains a trenchant defence of the aims of Communism, and it exposes various fashionable brands of "socialism" as expressions, not of the working-class standpoint, but of the reactionary standpoints of other classes—of the decaying aristocracy, the petty-bourgeoisie²²¹ or the bourgeoisie itself. The ideas of Communism, on the other hand, are not inventions of any would-be reformers, but spring from the existing class struggle.

Communists have no interests apart from those of the working class as a whole. Their policy is to fight for the immediate aims of the class, to form an alliance with every movement opposed to the existing social order, and in the movement of the present always to take care of the future,

²²¹ The *petty bourgeoisie* consists of the small proprietors in capitalist society, engaged in private profit-making enterprise through the production and sale of commodities, but not exploiting labour, or not exploiting it on a large scale—small businessmen, shopkeepers, farmers, independent professional people, and so on.

striving to unite the class for the overthrow of capitalist class rule and for the conquest of power.

ENGELS: Socialism, Utopian and Scientific

Of all the works of Marx and Engels, this is probably the best for the beginner. Written in a very clear and easy style, it introduces the reader to the basic ideas of scientific socialism.

Its three chapters were extracted from Engels' much larger work, *Anti-Dühring*.²²²

The chief difficulty which a new reader is likely to find lies in the Introduction, where a variety of philosophical views are discussed. In this Introduction Engels deals with the history of modern materialism, and then refutes the views of the Agnostics and of the German philosopher Kant. The reader who finds such discussions difficult should read the Introduction *after* and not before the rest of the book.

The following are the main points dealt with in the three chapters of *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.

1. Socialism was first put forward as the dream of an ideal society—a utopia. The Utopian Socialists (St. Simon and Fourier in France, Robert Owen in Britain) could not show how socialism was to be achieved in practice. For they could not point to the social force, i.e. the working class, whose class interest demanded socialism and whose struggle would bring socialism into being.

Engels shows that socialism must be turned from a utopia into a science, which means that it must be based on an understanding of the laws of development of society, of the class struggle, of the contradictions of capitalism, of the role of the working class.

2. Scientific socialism has a philosophical basis—dialectical materialism.

²²² The beginning of Chapter I is taken from the Introduction to *Anti-Dühring*, while the rest of Chapter I comes from the first chapter of Part III. Chaplet II is again extracted from the Introduction, and Chapter III reproduces Part III, Chapter II.

Dialectics,²²³ says Engels, means studying things in their real motion and interconnection. He contrasts this with “metaphysics,” which considers things “one after the other and apart from each other.”

Engels goes on to contrast dialectical materialism with the dialectics of the idealist philosopher, Hegel.

3. Marxism extends materialism to the understanding of society and its laws. It demonstrates that the ultimate cause of all important historical events lies in the economic development of society, i.e. in changes in the mode of production and exchange. It is the development of production and exchange which leads to the division of society into hostile classes and to the class struggle.

The task of socialists is not simply to criticise existing capitalist society as unjust, but to understand the nature of the capitalist mode of production and its laws of development. The essential nature of capitalism was laid bare by Marx’s discovery of surplus value.

4. The fundamental contradiction of capitalism is the contradiction between the social production which capitalism has brought into being and private capitalist appropriation. This contradiction contains the germs of the whole of the social antagonisms of to-day. And Engels further shows how capitalism in its development necessarily passes through periodic economic crises.²²⁴

The solution of the contradiction can be achieved only when the working class, as a result of its struggle, establishes social ownership to match social production.

5. Engels goes on to show how, with the further development of capitalism, capital becomes concentrated into the hands of great trusts and combines.

²²³ See Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach*; Stalin *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*.

²²⁴ See Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*; *Wage Labour and Capital*; Lenin, *A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism*; Stalin, Report to 16th Congress.

At a certain stage in this process, the state must begin to undertake the direction of production. Yet capitalist state ownership is not socialism, for the workers in state industries are still exploited for capitalist profit. The taking over of productive forces by the capitalist state does not solve the social conflicts. It does, however, bring them to a head, and creates the technical conditions for going forward to socialism. For this it is necessary that the working class should seize political power, taking possession of the productive forces and utilising them, not for capitalist profit, but for the welfare of society as a whole.²²⁵

6. Here Engels deals with the nature of the state. The state is a product of the division of society into hostile classes, and its function is to preserve the conditions of class exploitation. It has therefore always been the instrument of the ruling class—in slave society of the slave-owners, in feudal society of the feudal lords, in capitalist society of the capitalist class. The modern state is essentially a capitalist machine, the organ of capitalist class rule.²²⁶

It follows that when socialism has abolished the exploitation of one class by another, there remains no more need for coercion and repression and therefore no need for any social repressive force, a state. So the state will wither away.²²⁷

7. Finally, with the establishment of socialism, anarchy in social production is replaced by planned organisation. Consequently, instead of being at the mercy of economic forces which they cannot understand, men will be able more and more consciously to plan their lives and make their own history. "It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."

STALIN: Anarchism or Socialism

This little book was written by Stalin as a young man of twenty-six,

²²⁵ On state capitalism and socialism see further Lenin, *The Impending Catastrophe and Left-Wing Childishness and Petty-Bourgeois Mentality*; Stalin, *Report to 14th Congress of C.P.S.U.(B)*.

²²⁶ See Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.

²²⁷ The theory of the state was further developed by Stalin at the *18th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B)*, where he dealt with the functions of the Socialist State, and the question of the "withering away" of the state, in conditions of the existence of socialist countries surrounded by a hostile capitalist world.

when he was leading the party in Transcaucasia. At that time a group of anarchists was disrupting the Transcaucasian workers' organisations, and Stalin set out to explain the ideas of Marxism in opposition to those of the anarchists. The book was addressed to the ordinary rank and file workers, and contains a very simple and popular exposition of the fundamentals of Marxist theory; it is a model of how profound questions of theory should be linked with the immediate tasks of the working class struggle.

The book consists of three short chapters. The first two deal respectively with the *dialectical method* and the *materialist theory*. Here are set forth the same ideas which Stalin was to elaborate more fully in his *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*.

The third chapter deals with *socialism*. Stalin here explains the nature of capitalism, the nature of the future socialist society and of the transition from socialism to communism, the grounds for maintaining the inevitability of the advance to socialism, the nature of the working class struggle, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the tasks of the working class party.

B. MORE ADVANCED READING

MARX: Critique of the Gotha Programme

Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* deals with fundamental questions of the theory and programme of the working class party. It consists of a series of comments on points contained in the draft programme prepared for a unity conference of the German working class movement held at Gotha in 1875. Marx's comments were suppressed by the opportunist leadership of the German Social Democratic Party, and were subsequently published by Engels in 1891, against the wishes of the leadership.

The intention of the draft programme—the “Gotha Programme”—was to provide a platform behind which the whole German working class movement could unite. But for the sake of “unity” it made a number of concessions on points of principle to the followers of the splinter group led by Ferdinand Lassalle.

What are the principal points clarified in Marx's critique?

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1. He shows that the capitalist mode of production has created the material conditions for advancing to socialism, and deals with *the way in which the social product will be distributed in socialist society*. Socialism is only the first phase of communism, and is guided by the principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labour." It will lead to full communist society, the principle of which is, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need."²²⁸

2. He attacks the reformist slogan of "a fair distribution of the products of labour," and exposes the theoretical confusion behind this slogan. For *the distribution of the products of labour, must always be a consequence of the mode of production*.²²⁹ He likewise attacks the reformist slogan of "state aid under democratic control," and shows that the aim of the working class must be "to revolutionise the present conditions of production."

3. He attacks the conception that, relatively to the working class, all other classes are *only one reactionary mass*. It is necessary to examine concretely the actual position of each class at each stage of history, and not lump them all together as "reactionary." Thus the workers may fight together with sections of the capitalists against feudal survivals, together with the lower middle class for certain democratic demands, and so on.²³⁰

4. He affirms the *international* character of the working class struggle²³¹ in opposition to the narrowly national aims of the Gotha Programme.

5. He refutes the conception of an "iron law of wages," according to which the worker's²³² real wages can never be raised above a minimum subsistence level.

6. He attacks the reformist slogan of a "free state," and shows that "between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds

²²⁸ See Lenin, *The State and Revolution*; Stalin, *Speech at Conference of Stakhanovites*,

²²⁹ See Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Part II; Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. 51.

²³⁰ See, for example, *The Communist Manifesto*, and *Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League*.

²³¹ See *The Communist Manifesto*.

²³² See *Wages, Price and Profit*.

to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*.”²³³

ENGELS : Anti-Dühring

Engels' great book *Anti-Dühring* (or, to give it its full title *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*) contains the most complete and comprehensive exposition of Marxist teachings, ranging over the whole field covered by Marxist theory. It is a masterpiece, clear, simple and witty in its style, profound in its content, demonstrating in every field the power of the Marxist method.

The book is divided into three parts 1

- I. Philosophy.
- II. Political Economy.
- III. Socialism.

It is polemical in style, having been written, as its title indicates, against a certain Dr. Eugen Dühring, who was making a noise in the socialist movement in Germany in the 1870's. Dühring claimed to be the inventor of a complete "system" of philosophy and science, founded on eternal and self-evident "first principles," which enunciated the final truth about "all things under the sun and then a few more" and which, in particular, would instruct socialists as to their future policy. In exposing Dühring's nonsense and answering it, Engels makes clear the Marxist standpoint.

Anti-Dühring first appeared as a serial in the journal *Forward*, beginning in 1877, and was published as a complete book in 1878. Parts of it were subsequently published separately under the title *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.

Part I, on *Philosophy*, begins by refuting the idea that we can deduce anything from "self-evident first principles." Principles are only valid, says Engels, in so far as they can be shown to conform to nature and history; they are therefore not the starting point of investigation but its final result.

²³³ See Lenin, *The State and Revolution*. This book by Lenin contains quotations from and commentaries on a number of passages of the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

He goes on to discuss the concepts of “the unity of the world” and of time and space,²³⁴ and then devotes several chapters to natural science²³⁵—physics, chemistry and biology. In the chapters on biology in particular, the reader will find a profound discussion of the Darwinian theory of evolution and of the nature of life: subsequent science has more and more confirmed the standpoint taken by Engels in these chapters. In Chapter III there is an important discussion on the nature of mathematics.

Engels then devotes three chapters (9, 10, 11) to morality and law. He gives here a masterly treatment of the question, “Are there eternal truths?”

Turning to morals, he shows that in class society “morality is always a class morality.”²³⁶ There is a lengthy discussion on ideas of equality. “The real content of the proletarian demand for equality is the demand for the abolition of classes,” Engels declares. “Any demand for equality which goes beyond that of necessity passes into absurdity.”

The next chapter discusses “the question of so-called free will” and “the relation between freedom and necessity.” Freedom is knowledge of necessity.²³⁷

The last two chapters of Part I turn to the laws of dialectics, and discuss the conceptions of dialectical contradiction, of the transformation of quantity into quality and of the negation of the negation. Engels makes the real meaning of these conceptions clear in a series of examples. The methods and basic ideas of dialectical materialism are also explained by Engels in the Preface to the 2nd edition of *Anti-Dühring*, and in the general introduction to the book as a whole.

Part II, on *Political Economy*, begins by defining political economy as “the science of the laws governing the production and exchange of the material means of subsistence in human society.” The mode of distribution of the products is always in the last analysis based on the mode of

²³⁴ See Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.

²³⁵ See also Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*.

²³⁶ See also Lenin, *Tasks of the Youth Leagues*.

²³⁷ Cf. also what Engels says concerning the transition to the realm of freedom in *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, extracted from Part III of *Anti-Dühring*. And see Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Ch. 3.

production and exchange. Therefore inequalities in the mode of distribution of the products develop as consequences of the existing mode of production.²³⁸

From this standpoint Engels devotes three chapters to the criticism of the so-called “force theory,” which was put forward by Dühring. According to this theory, inequalities in the distribution of products are due to a minority having somehow imposed this mode of distribution on society by force. It follows that capitalist society can be reformed by securing a more equal distribution of products, without altering the basic capitalist mode of production. Engels gives a detailed criticism of this theory. He shows how the development of property relations and political institutions has been based on economic development; a brilliant chapter is devoted to military science and to its economic basis; he ends by showing that all political power is originally based on an economic, social function, and that since the development of capitalism has reached the point where the rule of the capitalist class has become a hindrance to further social development, this rule, and with it the capitalist mode of production and exchange, must be “inexorably abolished.”

This whole argument is of vital importance, not only in relation to Dühring, but in relation to reformist theory generally, and is as topical to-day as ever.

Engels then devotes four chapters to a polemical defence and exposition of the labour theory of value and of Marx's theory of surplus value and capital.²³⁹

There follows a short chapter on ground rent²⁴⁰ and a long chapter contributed by Marx giving a critical estimate of the leading writers on political economy before Marx.²⁴¹

Part III, on *Socialism*, opens with a critical account of the ideas of the

²³⁸ See Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

²³⁹ See Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital*, and *Capital*, Vol. I.

²⁴⁰ See Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III; Lenin, *Agrarian Program of Social Democracy*, Ch. 3.

²⁴¹ See Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*.

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utopian socialists, and then outlines the leading ideas of scientific socialism. These chapters were included in *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, and have been dealt with above in connection with that book.

The last three chapters deal with Dühring's own proposals for the organisation of production and distribution, and of the state, the family and education, in his ideal socialist society of the future. In this connection Engels discusses questions of the division of labour, the abolition of the antithesis of town and countryside, and the distribution of products, as these will actually present themselves in socialist society. In the last chapter, replying to Dühring's proposal "to abolish religion," Engels briefly discusses the Marxist attitude to religion;²⁴² and in connection with the family and education he shows that these will develop in accordance with the real requirements of the citizens of the future socialist society, not in accordance with the "eternal principles" laid down by any utopian reformer.

C. THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (BOLSHEVIKS)

STALIN; History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)

Written by J. V. Stalin, edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B), this book was first published in 1938. It makes available the experience and the lessons of the successful fight for socialism of the working people of the Soviet Union.

It shows how the teachings of Marxism were applied and carried into practice in the struggle for socialism, and how they were further developed by Lenin and Stalin in the course of that struggle.

It therefore introduces us to the fundamental ideas of Marxism-Leninism, showing how to apply and develop them in practice, and how to fight for them. And it arms us with knowledge of the laws of social development, confirming our certainty of the victory of communism throughout the world.

The *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)* may be roughly divided into four periods:—

²⁴² See Lenin, *Attitude of the Workers' Party to Religion*.

A. From the Foundation of the Party to the First Russian Revolution of 1905-7.

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 deal with the period up to and including the First Russian Revolution of 1905-7.

Here we learn, first, of the rise of the industrial working class in Russia and of Lenin's struggle for the formation of a working class party. This struggle involved:

- (a) The fight for the fundamental ideas of Marxism against the "populists" (Narodnism), who denied that the workers must play the leading part in the revolution;
- (b) The fight against opportunism in the working class movement.

In the struggle first against the "economists," who thought the workers should confine themselves to economic demands and not wage a political struggle, and then against the Mensheviks, who wanted to turn the working class party into an opportunist social-democratic party of the West European type, Lenin established the principles of the working class party of a new type.²⁴³

In the First Russian Revolution which broke out in 1905 the Bolsheviks showed how to give leadership to the mass movement of the working class. In opposition to the Mensheviks who wanted to hold back the rising mass movement of the workers, Lenin and the Bolsheviks showed that the workers in alliance with the peasants must rise in revolt against Tsarism, overthrow it and clear the way for socialism.²⁴⁴

What are the principal points we can learn about from the study of these chapters of the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)* ?

1. The fundamental teachings of Marxism on the growth of the working class and its struggle, and the role of the working class in the fight for

²⁴³ See Lenin, *What is to be Done?; One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*; Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*.

²⁴⁴ See Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*; Lecture on 1905; Stalin, *On the Problems of Leninism*.

socialism.

2. The relation of the economic with the political struggle of the working class, the tasks of political leadership, and the necessity to fight against the “economist” or narrow trade union type of reformism in the working class movement.

3. The political and organisational principles of the working class party of a new type.

4. The distinction and relationship of the bourgeois and the socialist revolution, and the leading role of the working class in the bourgeois revolution and in passing over from the bourgeois to the socialist revolution.

5. The strategic principles of working class struggle—uniting with all possible allies against the main enemy and isolating the compromising parties.

6. The mass political strike as a revolutionary weapon of the working class.

B. The Period of Reaction and of the New Rise of the Working Class Movement, 1905-14.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the period of reaction which followed the defeat of the 1905-7 Revolution, and with the new rise of the working class movement before the First Imperialist War (1914).

After the defeat of the revolution the Bolsheviks showed how to retreat in good order, how to regroup the forces of the working class, how to combine legal with illegal work and to prepare for a new offensive against the landlords and capitalists. In this they had to fight traitors and opportunists of all kinds, and above all the “liquidators,” who wanted to abandon all efforts to preserve the illegal organisation of the party.

At the same time, a number of intellectuals began a campaign to revise the fundamental ideas of Marxism in the light of the “latest” thing in bourgeois idealism. It was against them that Lenin in this period wrote his book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*; and in dealing with this, the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)* contains a classical exposition of the basic ideas

of dialectical and historical materialism.²⁴⁵

In this period, the Bolsheviks expelled the Mensheviks from the party and constituted themselves an independent Marxist Party (1912). The Bolshevik Party was able to extend its mass connections with the workers, to take the lead of the new struggles which were developing, to establish a mass daily newspaper (*Pravda*), and to carry on revolutionary propaganda and agitation through the Tsarist Duma.

What are the principal points taught by the study of these chapters?

1. How to retreat in good order after a defeat, regrouping forces, preserving the illegal organisation of the party and combining legal with illegal work.

2. The necessity of preserving the organisation of the party, fighting against liquidationist tendencies, purging the party of opportunist elements and constituting an independent Marxist party of the working class.

3. The necessity to preserve intact, defend and develop the theoretical foundation of the party—dialectical and historical materialism.

4. How the party can extend its mass connections with the working class and take the lead of rising working class struggle.

5. How the party can carry forward the working class struggle in a reactionary parliament.

6. The role of a daily newspaper as leader and organiser of the mass movement.

C. The Imperialist War and the Victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, 1914-21.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 deal with the period of the imperialist war, the revolutions of February and October 1917, and with the foreign military

²⁴⁵ See Stalin, *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*.

intervention and civil war.

In the imperialist, war Lenin exposed the social democrats who sided with “their own” imperialist governments, made his profound analysis of imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, and advanced the slogan “turn the imperialist war into civil war.”²⁴⁶

In February 1917 soviets (elected councils of working people) were set up, the Tsar was overthrown by a mass uprising, and a provisional government was formed with the backing of the capitalists and bankers. Lenin in his *April Theses* declared that the task was to pass straight on to the socialist stage of the revolution, which must place power in the hands of the working class in alliance with the poor peasantry.

The whole gigantic experience of the proletarian revolution of 1917²⁴⁷ is set forth and analysed in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 deals with the civil war and intervention, and makes clear why the workers and peasants won.

What, then, are the principal points we learn about from the study of these chapters?

1. The policy of the working class in relation to war.
2. The nature of imperialism and the special features of the era of imperialism; the law of uneven development, and the possibility of the victory of socialism in a single country.²⁴⁸
3. The fight against social chauvinism, i.e. against support of “one’s own” imperialism in an imperialist war.
4. The strategy and tactics of the Bolshevik Party in the victorious October Revolution.
5. The international significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

²⁴⁶ See Lenin, *Imperialism; Imperialism and the Split in Socialism; The Collapse of the and War*.

²⁴⁷ See Stalin, *International Character of the October Revolution, The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists*.

²⁴⁸ See Lenin, *The United States of Europe Slogan*.

D. The Building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., 1921-36.

Chapters 9, 10, 11 and 12 tell how socialism was built in the U.S.S.R.²⁴⁹ It was built in ceaseless struggle against internal and external enemies.

Chapter 9 deals with the period of the transition from civil war to peaceful economic restoration—the New Economic Policy.

Chapter 10 deals with socialist industrialisation.

Chapter 11 deals with the collectivisation of agriculture.

Chapter 12 deals with the struggle to complete the building of socialist society, which was crowned with the new Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R. in 1936.

With that the building of socialist society in the U.S.S.R.—a society without exploitation of man by man—was completed. The Soviet people began their new advance from socialism to communism.

What are the principal points we learn about from the study of these chapters?

1. The significance of the New Economic Policy, as the policy by which the working class, in command of the state and of the key positions of economy, is able to lead the whole national economy towards socialism.
2. The alliance of the workers and peasants as an integral feature of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
3. The path of socialist industrialisation.
4. The path of collectivisation of agriculture and of the elimination of the last exploiting class, the kulaks or capitalist farmers, in the countryside.

²⁴⁹ See Stalin's articles and speeches in the volume *Problems of Leninism*.

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5. The development of the international situation after the October Socialist Revolution, and the relations between the land of socialism and the capitalist world.

6. The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and its expression in the Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

At the end of the book the chief conclusions to be drawn from the work and experience of the Bolshevik Party are listed. They are:

1. The victory of the working class is impossible without a revolutionary working class party.

2. This party must master the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

3. The victory of the working class is impossible unless alien tendencies within the ranks of the working class are defeated.

4. The party must wage an uncompromising struggle against opportunists and capitulators in its own ranks.

5. The party cannot lead the class unless it is ready to criticise defects in its own work, to acknowledge and correct its own mistakes.

6. The party cannot lead the class unless it constantly strengthens its connections with the masses and is ready not only to teach the masses but to learn from them.

D. LENINISM

STALIN: Foundations of Leninism

Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism* consists of a series of lectures delivered at Sverdlov University, Moscow, for new Party members recruited during the Lenin enrolment which took place in 1924 after the death of Lenin.

The lectures explained to the new members how Lenin had developed further the most important points of Marxism, the theory and practice of the working-class struggle.

The following are the principal points dealt with:

1. Stalin defines Leninism as the “Marxism of the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution.” He thus shows how Leninism is a further development of Marxism.²⁵⁰

2. He explains how in the epoch of imperialism, i.e. of monopoly capitalism, the contradictions of capitalism have reached their extreme limit. Imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution.²⁵¹

3. He shows that the revolution is the result of the development of contradictions in the whole world system of imperialism. Hence the revolution begins, not as was formerly assumed, in the most advanced industrial countries, but in the weakest link in the chain of imperialism.

Russia was the local point of all the contradictions of imperialism and the weakest link in the chain. That is why the first socialist revolution took place in Russia, and why Russia became the home of Leninism.

4. Stalin shows how the relatively peaceful development of capitalism in the pre-1914 period gave birth to the opportunism of the Second International, and how it therefore became necessary to overhaul the entire activity of the International.²⁵²

5. He deals with the role of theory in the working-class movement, and shows that the role of vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by advanced theory.²⁵³ Theory must always be tested in living revolutionary practice, must not be allowed to degenerate into a dogma, but must be developed with the development of the revolutionary struggle. Revolutionary theory alone can give the movement orientation and direction. Practice without theory gropes in the dark.

6. Expounding Lenin’s theory of the proletarian revolution, Stalin shows how the task of carrying through the bourgeois democratic revolution, i.e.,

²⁵⁰ See Stalin, *Interview Given to First American Labour Delegation*.

²⁵¹ See Lenin, *Imperialism*.

²⁵² See Lenin, *The Historical Destiny of the Teaching of Karl Marx*.

²⁵³ See Lenin, *What is to be Done?*

doing away with feudal survivals and establishing democracy, must pass straight into the task of the socialist revolution, the conquest of power by the working-class and the building of socialism.²⁵⁴

7. He deals with the peasant problem, showing that the working-class in order to fulfil its revolutionary tasks must win as its allies and lead the mass of the peasants—marching with the whole peasantry as allies in the bourgeois democratic revolution, and then with the mass of the poorer and exploited peasants against capitalism.²⁵⁵

8. He explains and defends Lenin's teaching that, in the epoch of imperialism, the socialist revolution can be victorious in a single country or in a group of countries alone, and that socialism can be built in one country.²⁵⁶

9. He deals with the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, explaining:

- (a) That the dictatorship is necessary throughout the entire transition period after the seizure of power, in order to break the resistance of the exploiters, organise socialist construction and defend the country against foreign enemies.²⁵⁷
- (b) That the dictatorship represents the domination of the proletariat, in alliance with all the working people, over the bourgeoisie, the rule of the majority over the minority. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a higher form of democracy, proletarian democracy, which can emerge only as a result of smashing the organs of bourgeois rule.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁴ See Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution, The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution*.

²⁵⁵ See Lenin, *Two Tactics, etc.*; Stalin, *The Party's Three Fundamental Slogans on the Peasant Problem, Report to 4th Congress of C.P.S.U.(B)*.

²⁵⁶ See Lenin, *The United States of Europe Slogan*.

²⁵⁷ See Lenin, *State and Revolution*; Stalin, *On the Problems of Leninism*; Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

²⁵⁸ See Lenin, *The Deception of the People, The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, State and Revolution*; Stalin, *On the Problems of Leninism*; Marx, *Critique of Gotha Programme, The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, The Civil War in France*.

- (c) Soviet power is the new state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, established in the Russian Revolution. Its chief characteristic is that “it draws the mass organisations of the toilers and exploited into constant and unrestricted participation in state administration.”²⁵⁹

10. Stalin deals with the national question,²⁶⁰ stressing that it has grown into a world question of the liberation of the oppressed peoples from imperialism. The national question can only be solved in the course of struggle to overthrow capitalist rule and imperialism. The working class must help and support all colonial liberation movements in so far as they tend to weaken imperialism. Stalin stresses the right of all nations to an independent political existence. Amalgamations of nations must be voluntary, based on mutual confidence, and must include the right to secession.

11. Stalin explains the elements of the science of leadership of the working class struggle, the way to determine correctly the strategy and tactics of the struggle at each stage. He shows that this depends on determining at each stage against what enemy the main blow is to be directed and what allies can be drawn into the struggle (strategy), and finding the correct forms of struggle, the right “link in the chain” (tactics).

12. He explains the Leninist conception of the working class party of a new type, the functions of such a party and how it must work. The party is:

- (a) The vanguard of the working class, closely bound up with the whole class.
- (b) An organised detachment of the working class.
- (c) The highest form of class organisation of the proletariat.
- (d) It acts as the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- (e) It must preserve strict unity and voluntary discipline.
- (f) It must purge itself of all opportunists and traitors within its own ranks.

²⁵⁹ See Lenin, *“Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution. Can the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?: Stalin, Report to 15th Congress of C.P.S.U.(B).*

²⁶⁰ See Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question.*

The party, Stalin concludes, must learn the Leninist style of work, combining practical businesslike efficiency with Bolshevik zeal and enthusiasm.

STALIN: On the Problems of Leninism

Stalin's *On the Problems of Leninism*, written in 1926, deals mainly with the dictatorship of the proletariat, false theories about which were being put forward at that time by Zinoviev and his followers.

Stalin begins by emphasising the international significance of Lenin's teachings. Leninism is not a special application of Marxism limited to Russian conditions.

After explaining the principal ways in which the bourgeois revolution differs from the proletarian revolution, and after explaining how the bourgeois revolution grows into the proletarian revolution, Stalin shows that the proletarian revolution can only be carried through by the dictatorship of the proletariat. The fundamental thing in Leninism is Lenin's teachings about the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The main tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat are:

1. Suppression of the exploiters.
2. Building a firm alliance between the working class and the non-proletarian masses.
3. Organising socialist economy.

The dictatorship of the proletariat can be exercised only with the help of the mass organisations of the working class, and it is impossible without the guiding, unifying, leading role of the party.

But the dictatorship of the proletariat is not the dictatorship of the party. It is the dictatorship of the class. As for the party, it does not function by methods of force and dictatorship. "The method of persuasion is the principal method employed by the party in leading the working class."²⁶¹

²⁶¹ See Stalin, *Report to 14th Congress C.P.S.U.(B)*.

E. IMPERIALISM AND THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

LENIN: Imperialism—The Highest Stage of Capitalism

Lenin's *Imperialism* was written in 1916, that is, in the midst of the imperialist war. In it he sought to lay bare the essential nature of imperialism, and thereby to unmask the policies of the imperialist powers, the roots of imperialist war, the treachery of the social-democratic leaders who had gone over to the side of the imperialists, and to show the workers that the way forward was by the overthrow of imperialism.

Lenin showed that imperialism is a new stage of capitalism,²⁶² and he discovered its nature and its laws of development. He showed that the imperialist stage is the highest and last stage of capitalism, and that the epoch of imperialism is at the same time the epoch of proletarian revolutions.

Imperialism is defined shortly as the *monopoly* stage of capitalism. In giving this definition Lenin makes clear its exact meaning with a wealth of factual material.

Then he demonstrates the special features of this monopoly stage:—

1. The concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that monopolies play a decisive role in economic life;
2. The merging of bank with industrial capital has created “finance capital” and a “financial oligarchy”;
3. The export of capital has developed, as distinguished from the export of commodities;
4. International capitalist monopolies have been formed, which share the world among themselves;

²⁶² An important explanation of this point, showing that imperialism is not a new economic system, is to be found in Lenin's report *On the Party Programme* at the 8th Congress of the Russian C.P.

5. The whole world is divided among the great imperialist powers.

Lenin traces the process of development of imperialist powers. He shows how the export of capital gives rise to the annexation of colonial territories, and to the subjugation of millions of colonial peoples to imperialist domination. The world is divided among the imperialists. But no division of the world can ever satisfy them. For there is a “law of uneven development” which means that as some imperialist powers expand and outstrip others, they put forward the demand for a re-division of the world corresponding to the new balance of forces. Hence imperialism is inseparable from imperialist wars.

Lenin then shows that with imperialism all the parasitical features of capitalism are accentuated. With imperialism, capitalism is in decay, the stage is set for colonial liberation and for the proletarian revolution.

At the same time Lenin shows how in the imperialist countries the super-profits made by imperialism are used to bribe a section of the working class, who therefore see their own interests as being tied up with those of imperialism. This is the basis for the growth of opportunism in the working class movement.²⁶³

LENIN: The State and Revolution

The State and Revolution, written by Lenin on the eve of October, 1917, sets forth the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the state. The last chapter, which was to deal with the experiences of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and February 1917, was never written: Lenin was “interrupted” by the advent of the October Revolution.

The attitude to the state is a most vital question for the working class movement. Right-wing social democrats teach that the state is neutral and stands above classes. In this great book Lenin shows the falsity and treachery of this idea; he places before the reader the statements and arguments of Marx and Engels on the subject of the state,²⁶⁴ defends and develops their teachings on the basis of an analysis of the experiences of the working class movement.

²⁶³ See Lenin, *Imperialism and the Split in Socialism*.

²⁶⁴ See *Communist Manifesto; Critique of Gotha Programme; 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte; Civil War in France; Origin of the Family; Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.

What are the principal questions dealt with in *The State and Revolution*?

1. Lenin shows that the state is an organ of class rule. It came into being as a result of society splitting into antagonistic classes, as an organ for the oppression of one class by another. Its characteristic feature is the existence of a “public power” consisting of special bodies of armed men, prisons and coercive institutions of all kinds, a state bureaucracy. This state machinery has become perfected in the capitalist state.

2. Lenin shows that the working class cannot lay hold of the capitalist state machinery and use it for their own purposes, but must smash it and replace it by the proletarian state—the proletariat organised as the ruling class.

The forms of bourgeois state, he says, are very varied, but they are all forms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Similarly the transition from capitalism to communism will create a variety of political forms, but their essence will invariably be the same: the dictatorship of the proletariat. The object of the proletarian dictatorship is to crush the resistance of the exploiters and prepare the way for classless society—communism.

3. Lenin deals in detail with the difference between bourgeois and proletarian democracy. We can and must imagine democracy without parliamentarism, he says; and analysing the experience of the Paris Commune (1871), he shows how Marx recognised in the Commune a new form of democracy, proletarian democracy.

At the same time Lenin shows how the workers must always fight to defend and extend bourgeois democracy, because this provides the best conditions for waging the class struggle against the capitalists. He shows that the workers wage their struggle in alliance with all the oppressed people under capitalism, and how this class alliance must be continued and strengthened through the dictatorship of the proletariat after the defeat of the capitalists.

4. Lenin deals in detail with the meaning of the transition from socialism to communism, and with the economic basis of this transition.

Socialist society is organised on the slogan: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." As production increases and an absolute abundance of products becomes available there will gradually be introduced communism, whose slogan is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." At the same time there will gradually disappear the antithesis between intellectual and manual labour, and between town and countryside. In the course of the transition to communism the state will gradually wither away.²⁶⁵

Lenin's lecture on *The State*, delivered in 1919 to students of Sverdlov University, presents the essential teachings about the state in a short and popular form. It is a splendid introduction for the beginner, who should read it before tackling *The State and Revolution*.

²⁶⁵ But see further Stalin, Report to 18th Congress of C.P.S.U.(B). On proletarian democracy and the socialist state see further Lenin, *The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*, *Can the Bolsheviks Maintain Power? The Deception of the People*, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*; and Stalin, Report to 15th Congress of C.P.S.U.(.B).

3. DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

INTRODUCTION

The philosophy of Marxism is dialectical materialism, and its application to the study of society is historical materialism.

Dialectical materialism holds that we cannot understand things rightly unless we understand how they are connected together and how they are developing and changing. For nothing exists unconnected with other things; nor is there anything fixed and changeless, but everything is in continual change and motion.

Dialectical materialism teaches us to pay attention to the opposite, conflicting tendencies which arise throughout nature and society, whose struggle results in change and development. In all development, gradual processes of growth (quantitative changes) lead to the emergence of something new, of a new stage of development (qualitative changes).

Dialectical materialism holds that the cause of all the motion and change in the world does not lie in any “higher” spiritual reality, but in the material world itself. For the world is by its very nature material. Matter is primary and spirit—mind, thought, etc.— is secondary.

Applying these ideas to human society, historical materialism is the discovery that the determining force of all social development is always to be found in the material life of society, i.e. in the mode of production, and that this provides the basis for the development of men’s ideas and political institutions. From the development of the mode of production arises the class struggle, and the class struggle is the driving force of history. In this development, all ideas and institutions play either a reactionary or a revolutionary role—either helping to maintain and defend the old system of society, or mobilising people to struggle against the old system.

It has already been pointed out (Part 2, Introduction) that the student of Marxism should begin all his studies with *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, the *Communist Manifesto*, and *The History of the C.P.S.U.(B)*.

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In these books the leading ideas of dialectical and historical materialism are already introduced and expounded. The reader who wants to come to an understanding of the philosophy of Marxism and its application to society should therefore begin with these— and firstly with *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.

Chapter IV of the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)* contains a summary of the main ideas and principles of both dialectical and historical materialism. This is published separately, under the title *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, by Stalin. This book should serve as the starting-point for a fuller study of the principles of dialectical and historical materialism. But the new reader should not attempt to tackle it unless he has first understood the contents of *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*. And here he will also derive great help from Stalin's *Anarchism or Socialism*.

The next reading for the student who wishes to gain a fuller mastery of the ideas of dialectical and historical materialism will be Engels' *Ludwig Feuerbach*. Then can follow *Lenin on Religion*, and Engels' *Introduction to the Dialectics of Nature*, together with Chapter 9 of the same work, entitled *The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man* (both published separately in *Marx-Engels Selected Works*, Vol. II).

Only after this should he attempt to tackle the longer and more difficult works *The Origin of the Family, Dialectics of Nature, Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, *What the friends of the People Are*, and the First Part of *Anti-Dühring*. The last-named work has already been described above, under "Basic Principles."

Other writings to which attention is drawn in this connection are Stalin's *Marxism and Linguistics*, the *Marx-Engels Correspondence*, several short articles, etc., by Lenin, and the early works of Marx and Engels which they wrote before the *Communist Manifesto*.

Of the latter, *The German Ideology* and *Poverty of Philosophy* have both appeared in English translation. They are of very great importance as showing how Marx and Engels first developed and fought for dialectical and historical materialism. But many readers will find them difficult and will gain more from the later writings.

STALIN; Dialectical and Historical materialism

Stalin's *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* is extracted from Chapter IV of the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)*. Defining dialectical materialism as "the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist party," he explains that it is dialectical in its method, materialist in its theory. Historical materialism is the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of social life.

This book contains a brilliant exposition of the principal features of (1) the Marxist dialectical method, (2) Marxist philosophical materialism and (3) the Marxist science of society. In it are summarised the fruits of the whole experience of the application and development of Marxist theory in the course of the working class struggle for socialism.

1. Stalin shows how the Marxist dialectical method studies things always in their inter-connection and in their movement. It studies development as taking place through the transformation of quantitative into qualitative changes and as the disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things. Whatever we may consider, there is always something coming into being and something ceasing to be, something arising and something dying—and so the struggle between new and old constitutes the motive force of all development.

2. Stalin shows how materialism holds that the world is by its very nature material, that matter is primary and thought secondary, and that the material world and its laws are fully knowable.

3. Stalin shows how society, too, develops according to regular laws, so that the study of history becomes a science. The working class party must be guided by knowledge of the laws of development of society.

The determining force of social development is always to be found in the material life of society, and this provides the basis for the development of men's ideas, theories and political institutions.

This does not imply, however, Stalin explains, that theories and political institutions are of no significance in social life. On the contrary,

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theories and institutions which arise on the basis of the new developing forces in material life themselves become an active force in that development.

The chief force in the complex of conditions of material life that determines the development of society is the *mode of production*. Here Stalin distinguishes (1) the *forces of production*, consisting of (a) the instruments of production and (b) people with their production experience and skill, and (2) the *relations of production*, which in their totality constitute the *economic structure* of society.

He shows how the forces of production continually develop. And corresponding to their development there are five principal types of relations of production—primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism.

Three principal features of production are noted.

- (a) Production never remains stationary for long, but is always in a state of change and development.
- (b) Change and development of the mode of production always begins with change and development of the productive forces. First the productive forces change and develop, and then, depending on these changes and in conformity with them, the relations of production, the economic relations, change.
- (c) The rise of new productive forces and new production relations begins within the old system and takes place independent of men's will and intentions.

In the course of development, the existing system of production relations becomes a fetter on further development of the forces of production. Then follows a period of social revolution. New relations of production are established by the revolutionary overthrow of the old relations of production, and this is effected by class struggle, by the overthrow of the old ruling class and rise to power of a new ruling class.

Stalin shows how the capitalist relations of production have become a fetter on further development, and how under socialism the way is free for a great further development of the productive forces.

In conclusion, he quotes the passage from Marx's Preface to the *Critique of Political Economy* in which Marx summed up the essence of historical materialism.

In this passage Marx said:

1. In social production men enter into definite relations of production, which arise independent of their will. The sum total of these constitutes the economic structure of society.
2. This economic structure is the real basis on which arises a legal and political superstructure, and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness.
3. Therefore the mode of production in material life determines the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being but, on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousness.
4. At a certain stage of their development, the forces of production in society come into conflict with the existing relations of production. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters.
5. Then follows an epoch of social revolution. The economic foundation is changed, and with it the whole superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed.
6. In considering such transformations we must distinguish between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, and the legal, political and ideological forms in which men become conscious of the conflict and fight it out.
7. No social order ever disappears until all the productive forces for which there is room in it have been developed; and new and higher relations of production never appear until the material conditions of their existence have matured within the old society.

ENGELS: Ludwig Feuerbach

In *Ludwig Feuerbach* (the full title is *Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy*) Engels shows how the advance was made from Hegelian idealist dialectics to materialist dialectics, and from mechanical to dialectical materialism.

Feuerbach was a German philosopher of the mid-19th Century who turned from Hegelian idealism to materialism, and whose work had a big influence on Marx and Engels. This book by Engels, published in 1888, was originally written as a review article on a book on Feuerbach by C. N. Starke.

The following are its principal contents.

1. Engels explains the basic difference between materialism and idealism. It arises from the question—which is prior, spirit or nature? Idealism says that spirit is prior to nature. Materialism says that nature is prior to spirit. Material being is prior to mind and ideas.

Modern idealism has been specially concerned with the question whether we can gain reliable knowledge of material things, of the external world, and concludes that such knowledge is impossible. Engels refutes this view, and shows that practice demonstrates that our ideas can and do constitute a true reflection of external material reality.²⁶⁶

2. He shows that the materialism of the past was mechanical materialism. Its great limitations were

- (a) that it conceived of the motion of matter as exclusively mechanical motion, and could not grasp other forms of motion of matter, such as chemical or living processes;
- (b) that it could give no account of development and evolution, either in nature or, still less, in history and human society.

3. He explains the essence of Hegel's philosophy and of the advance

²⁶⁶ See also Introduction to *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.

from Hegel to dialectical materialism.²⁶⁷ Hegel considered every process of change and development as being a mere reflection of the self-development of the “Absolute Idea,” which “does not only exist, where unknown, from eternity, but is also the actual living soul of the whole existing world.” Marxism threw over such “idealist fancies” and “resolved to comprehend the real world, nature and history, just as it presents itself to everyone who approaches it free from preconceived idealist fancies.”

Engel shows that dialectical materialism regards the world as a complex of processes, not as a collection of “ready-made things.” Dialectics is “the science of the general laws of motion both of the external world and of human thought.”

4. He discusses the essential ideas of historical materialism, as the application of dialectical materialism to the sphere of human society. He shows that the driving force of history is the class struggle, and that classes and class struggles are rooted in economic conditions. He goes on to discuss the economic foundations of the development of the state and of law, and then of political and social ideology, of religion, philosophy, etc.

In criticising Feuerbach’s “philosophy of religion and ethics,” Engel’s attacks the approach which deals with abstractions such as “humanity,” instead of with “real living men as participants of history.”

As appendix are added Marx’s eleven *Theses on Feuerbach*, notes by Marx in 1845 in which he summarised his own ideas as opposed to mechanical materialism.

ENGELS: The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State

Engels’ *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* shows how the principles of historical materialism are applied in the interpretation of the development of primitive society and of the origins of civilisation.

Published in 1884, at a time when bourgeois ideas were becoming rife

²⁶⁷ See *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.

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in the German Social-Democratic Party, it was aimed at winning the workers away from reformist illusions to a scientific and revolutionary conception of history past and present.

Engels' work was based on the discoveries of the American anthropologist, Lewis Morgan, whose *Ancient Society* was published in 1877. Morgan, who had lived amongst and studied the American Indians, discovered in their kinship groups—or *gens*—the key to an understanding of primitive society and its development. The importance of Morgan's discoveries, which led him to conclusions fully in line with the materialist conception of history, was immediately recognised by Marx and Engels.

In The Origin of the Family will be found:

1. An account of the development of the social forces of production from the most primitive food-gathering and hunting stage, through primitive agriculture, the domestication of animals, to the upper stages of barbarism, when the smelting of iron ore and the invention of the alphabet led to the beginnings of civilisation.

- 2 The history of the development of the family, as the most elementary unit of human association, from group-marriage to monogamy. Engels showed how the development of private property led to the transformation of family relations and to the subjugation of women.²⁶⁸ And he deals with the future of the family in socialist society.

3. An account of the kinship organisation—the *gens*—in primitive society, and of its disruption by the development of private property.

4. A demonstration of how the state arose with the division of society into antagonistic classes.²⁶⁹ Engels traces the history of the rise of the state amongst the ancient Greeks, Romans and Germans, and shows in detail the nature and functions of the state as an instrument of the oppression of one class by another.

5. The last chapter contains a brilliant sketch of the whole

²⁶⁸ A collection of statements by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on women and their position in society is to be found in the volume *Women and Communism*.

²⁶⁹ See Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.

development of civilisation. Engels shows how classes and exploitation arose out of the division of labour, and how in consequence every advance in production has been made only at the cost of fresh sufferings of the exploited.

ENGELS: *Dialectics of Nature*

Engels' *Dialectics of Nature* is an unfinished book. A few chapters were left by him at the time of his death in more or less finished form; but a great part of it consists merely of notes. In this book he intended to demonstrate how the discoveries of natural science confirm that the same dialectical laws which operate in human society operate also in nature, and how the dialectical method constitutes a great theoretical weapon of the natural sciences.

When Engels died in 1895, the manuscripts of the *Dialectics of Nature* fell into the hands of Bernstein (the "revisionist"), who did not see fit to publish any part of them. They never saw the light until published by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in the U.S.S.R. in 1927.

Parts of this book are hard to follow for readers who have not at least some knowledge of the natural sciences—though those who have will find every page a veritable gold-mine of ideas.

But the general reader will find little difficulty with the Introduction (which deals with the history of science, and shows how the old view of the universe as a static system has been replaced by a picture of universal evolution); with Chapter II (which explains the dialectical law of the transformation of quantitative into qualitative changes); with Chapter IX—"The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man" (which gives a classical exposition of the Marxist view of human nature and its development); and with Chapter X—"Natural Science and the Spirit World" (in which Engels gives his estimate of "Spiritualism.")

The Introduction and The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man have been published separately in the two-volume Marx-Engels Selected Works, and can be studied independently of the rest of the Dialectics of Nature.

Chapters III, IV and V—on “The Basic Forms of Motion,” “The Measure of Motion” and “Heat” contain vitally important material on the dialectical conception of the forms of motion of matter, and give a brilliant account of the dialectics of the science of mechanics.

Two chapters, on “Electricity” and “Tidal Friction,” are of mainly historical interest.

The long chapter of “Notes” contains material of the utmost interest and importance relating to the history of science, scientific method, the philosophy of science, the laws of dialectics, the materials of the special sciences.

LENIN: What the “Friends of the People Are” and How They Fight the Social Democrats

Lenin's *What the “Friends of the People” Are and How They Fight the Social Democrats*, published in 1894, contains a most important defence and explanation of dialectical and historical materialism.

The reader should consult Chapter I, sections 1-4, of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* before reading this book, in order to understand its background. The self-styled “Friends of the People” are the Russian Narodniks; the Social Democrats are the Marxists. The book belongs to the period of the fight for the establishment of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party on a Marxist basis.

The Narodniks of the 90's had renounced revolutionary struggle against the Tsarist government. They were attacking Marxism by means of crude misrepresentations; were denying the growth of capitalism in Russia; were voicing primarily the interests of the rich farmers (kulaks) and were singing the praises of kulak farming. In this book Lenin gave them their answer.

1. Replying to the jibe that Marxist historical materialism was an empty phrase and had never been properly expounded by Marx, Lenin answers: “Where does Marx not set forth his materialist conception of history?” He analyses the contents of Marx's *Capital* and shows how in *Capital* Marx dealt in a concrete way with the “evolution of the economic formation of society” and demonstrated the way the social superstructure arises on the

economic basis. Answering his opponents point by point, Lenin demonstrates the methodology of historical materialism.

2. Lenin completely exposes the misrepresentation of dialectics as an abstract scheme artificially imposed upon a given subject-matter.

And in this connection he exposes the misrepresentation that the Marxists believed Russia must first become a fully developed capitalist country before it could become a socialist country.

3. Lenin shows in detail how capitalism was developing in Russia and what inroads it was making into Russian peasant economy.²⁷⁰ He shows how his opponents, under cover of all kinds of “benevolent” schemes, were supporting the landlords and capitalists. He deals with the rise of the industrial working class in Russia and shows how this rising class, in alliance with the exploited peasantry, is the force which can overthrow Tsarism and then advance to the socialist revolution.

LENIN: Materialism and Empirio-Criticism

Of this book by Lenin, A. A. Zhdanov wrote that “every sentence is like a piercing sword, annihilating an opponent.” It is a devastating attack against modern idealism, a brilliant defence of the materialist standpoint, and a development of the basic ideas of dialectical materialism in the light of scientific discovery.

It was written in 1908, in the period following the defeat of the 1905-7 Revolution in Russia. The reader should consult the *History of the C.P.S.U. (B)*, Chapter IV, Section 1, in order to understand the background.

It was a time of great difficulty for the revolutionary working class movement in Russia. Reaction was making savage attacks upon the working class, and with this went an ideological offensive against Marxism, which fashionable writers represented as being exploded and “out of date.” This situation affected a group of the party intellectuals. They began to write books and articles claiming to “improve” Marxism and to “bring it up to date” in the light of “modern science,” but in reality attacking its entire

²⁷⁰ See Lenin, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

theoretical foundations.

Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* was written against this group. It safeguarded the theoretical treasure of Marxism from the revisionists and renegades. But more than that, it provided a new materialist generalisation of everything important and essential acquired by science, and especially the natural sciences, since Engels' death.

The reader unused to philosophical literature will find an initial difficulty in understanding some of the terms used in this book, and the references to various bourgeois philosophers and scientists. The term "Empirio-Criticism" is used to denote a whole sect of modern idealists. Lenin shows that their theories are copied from those of the Anglo-Irish philosopher, George Berkeley (1684-1753), who taught that material things have no real existence and that nothing exists but the sensations in our own minds; from the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), who taught that we can have no knowledge of "things-in-themselves," which are mysterious and unknowable; and from the Austrian scientist and philosopher Ernst Mach (1838-1916), who taught that bodies were nothing but "complexes of sensations." Lenin's references to and quotations from these philosophers and their modern followers are, however, sufficiently detailed for the reader who follows the argument attentively to understand what it is all about, even without prior knowledge.

In Materialism and Empirio-Criticism is contained:

1. A devastating exposure of the idealism of the modern "philosophy of science" which pretends that matter existing outside us is an abstraction and that what "really" exists consists of "complexes of sensations."

Ridiculing the "scientific" pretensions of this philosophy, Lenin asks:

"Did Nature exist prior to man?"

"Does Man think with the help of the brain?"

Science answers "Yes" to both questions; and that means that matter objectively exists independent of and prior to human consciousness and sensation.

2. The clear assertion and explanation of the most important features of the materialist conception of nature, in particular—

The practical test of knowledge;

The relationship of relative and absolute truth;

The absolute existence of matter, as the objective reality given to man

in his sensations;

The objective validity of causality and causal laws;

The objectivity of space and time, as the forms of all being,

3. The analysis of the crisis in modern physics, which arises from the contradiction between new discoveries and the mechanistic ideas of “classical” physics. Lenin shows how two trends arise in physics, a materialist and an idealist trend. He exposes the sham pretensions of the latter and demonstrates that “modern physics is in travail; it is giving birth to dialectical materialism.”

4. The demonstration of the partisan character of *all* philosophy, of the irreconcilability of the straggle of materialism against idealism. Lenin shows that Marxism is materialism, irreconcilably opposed to every form of idealism and of attempted compromise between materialism and idealism.

Lenin on Religion

The Marxist-Leninist teachings concerning religion and the attitude of the workers’ party towards religion²⁷¹ are summarised in three articles by Lenin—*Socialism and Religion*, the *Attitude of the Workers’ Party towards Religion*, *The Attitude of Classes and Parties toward Religion*. In these articles Lenin demonstrates:

1. That all religion is a form of “spiritual oppression”—the “opium of the people.”

2. That the programme of the Marxist Party is based on materialist philosophy.

3. That the party resolutely demands the separation of church from state, and fights against both militant clerical reaction and “liberal” attempts to fog the minds of the people with religious illusions.

4. That the party does not include the propagation of atheism in its programme, nor does it demand atheism from all its members, but regards the abstract preaching of atheism and the artificial fostering of religious

²⁷¹ See also Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, *Ludwig Feuerbach*.

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divisions amongst the workers as harmful and as playing into the hands of reaction.

Lenin on Dialectical Materialism: Articles, Letters and Notes

Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks*, published in the Soviet Union, contain very extensive material and comments on the essential ideas of dialectical materialism. Only a small part has been published in English translation, under the title *On Dialectics*. In these notes Lenin summarises the essential ideas of dialectics, particularly the idea of the unity and struggle of opposites.

In *The Significance of Militant Materialism*, written in 1922, Lenin sums up the tasks of the fight for materialism and the need for Marxists to make common cause with all those who adopt a materialist standpoint against idealism.

In *Two Letters to Maxim Gorky* Lenin expostulates with Gorky for flirting with the “god- seekers.”

In *Leo Tolstoy as a Mirror of the Russian Revolution*, Lenin applied the dialectical materialist method to problems of literature and literary criticism. He showed how Tolstoy reflected the contradictory outlook and moods of the Russian peasants.

Very important explanations of the nature of the dialectical method are contained in *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, the section headed “Something About Dialectics”; and in *Once More on the Trade Unions*, the section headed “Dialectics and Eclecticism.”

Lenin deals with the communist attitude to morality in *The Tasks of the Youth Leagues*.

STALIN: Concerning Marxism in Linguistics

Stalin's articles on linguistics—the science of language, its origin, nature and laws of development—were written and published in 1950, in reply to questions addressed to him by rank and file Soviet people in connection with current controversies concerning linguistics.

In these articles Stalin exposes the false theory that language is a part of the social superstructure which arises on the economic basis, and that all language has a class character. He shows that language is a means of communication serving society as a whole, and that it changes and develops slowly, without violent revolutions or leaps.

These articles are, moreover, of very great importance as demonstrating (a) how Marxism understands the relation between basis and superstructure in society, (b) how it understands the unity of the nation, (c) how it is opposed to dogmatism and demands continual criticism and the testing of all conclusions.

Marx-Engels Correspondence

A number of important letters by Marx and Engels dealing with the principles and methods of historical materialism are contained in Volume II of *Marx-Engels Selected Works*. These comprise:

- (a) Marx to Annenkov, explaining the general principles of historical materialism as against Proudhon, who thought that society was a manifestation of “eternal reason”;
- (b) Marx to Kugelmann, about the Paris Commune;
- (c) and a series of letters by Engels to Schmidt, Bloch, Mehring and Danielson, explaining how to understand and operate the method of historical materialism and exposing vulgar over-simplification of the method.

These letters, especially the series by Engels, are most important reading for an understanding of historical materialism.

A comprehensive selection of the Marx-Engels correspondence edited by Dona Torr has been published in English. These letters range over the whole field of theoretical and practical activity covered by Marx and Engels during the whole course of their lives. They contain material and explanations on many points of principle and of detail of the very greatest value to students of Marxism. The volume is provided with an excellent

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index, and the student should consult the index in order to find where the topics he is interested in are dealt with in the correspondence.

In an unfinished article on the Marx-Engels Correspondence (included in *Marx, Engel, Marxism*) Lenin pointed out that “the epoch covered by the correspondence was just the epoch when the working class became demarcated from bourgeois democracy, the epoch of the rise of an independent labour movement, the epoch when the basic principles of proletarian tactics and policy were being determined.”

He therefore points out how valuable to-day is the great wealth of material contained in the correspondence for the fight against opportunist policies in the Labour Movement.

“If one were to attempt to define in one word the focus of the whole correspondence,” Lenin concludes, “that word would be: *dialectics*. The application of materialist dialectics to the elaboration of all political economy, from its foundations, to history, natural science, philosophy and the policy and tactics of the working class—that is what interested Marx and Engels above all.”

Books by Marx and Engels Prior to the Communist Manifesto

In the three years before the publication of the Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels jointly wrote two books: The Holy Family, or a Criticism of All Critical Criticism, and The German Ideology, Marx himself wrote The Poverty of Philosophy and Engels The Condition of the Working Class in England 1844.

*They also wrote a number of articles, which appeared in such journals as The Rhineland Gazette, The German-French Yearbook, Forward. These include Marx's Criticism of Hegel's Philosophy of Law and The Jewish Question.*²⁷²

In *The Holy Family* and *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels

²⁷² A collection of manuscripts by Marx, belonging to this period, has been published in German under the title *Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts*. An English translation is being prepared.

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registered their break with the “Young Hegelian” school to which they formerly belonged, and their adoption of the standpoint of historical materialism. Both books are polemical in form and style.

The Holy Family has never been translated into English. Of *The German Ideology*, Parts I and III have been translated, but not Part II.

In Part I of *The German Ideology* Marx and Engels work out, in a preliminary way, the basic conceptions of historical materialism. Carrying on social production, men institute social relations and forms of property. On this basis are produced definite modes of consciousness. In every epoch the ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling class, and these are challenged by the new revolutionary ideas of the rising revolutionary class.

Part III deals with contemporary writers—Max Stirner and the so-called “True- Socialists.”

Marx’s *Poverty of Philosophy* was written against Proudhon, who had just published his *Philosophy of Poverty*. In this book the ideas of historical materialism and scientific socialism are sharply formulated for the first time. Marx deals with the economic nature of the capitalist exploitation of the worker (he had not yet, however, formulated the distinction between labour and labour-power), shows that economic relations are historically constituted and are not expressions of “eternal economic categories,” and formulates the doctrine of the class struggle.

Dealing with the role of the trade union struggle and of the strike movement, Marx shows that scientific socialism must be united with the mass working class movement.

Engels’ *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, deals, on the basis of Engels’ own observations, with the exploitation suffered by the British working class in the period of the rise of large-scale modern industry. The conditions of the birth and development of the proletariat as a class are described, the competition between workers and their ever-growing combination, the housing and other social conditions, the conditions in particular industries and in agriculture.

Engels deals with the development of the class struggle in Britain, the

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growth of an independent working class movement, and concludes that “the union of Socialism with Chartism.... will be the next step.” And he foretells the inevitability of a proletarian revolution in Britain.

4. POLITICAL ECONOMY

INTRODUCTION

Political economy is the science of the laws governing the production and exchange of the material means of subsistence in human society. And it is the development of the mode of production and exchange, i.e. the economic development of society, which is the basis of the whole of social development.

From this historical materialist standpoint, Marxism investigates the laws of development of capitalist society, and discovers in the production of surplus value the key to understanding the capitalist economic system.

Marxism thus exposes the essential nature of the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class, and by so doing it arms the working class with an economic theory which enables us to understand the laws of development of capitalism, to see where capitalism comes from and where it is leading, to realise the nature of the class struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, and the historic mission of the working class to take power, expropriate the capitalists and build socialism.

The essential work here is Marx's *Capital*, to the completion of which he devoted the greater part of his working life.

But *Capital* is not a book for the beginner to take up. Before attempting to tackle it, the reader should have made himself familiar with *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific* and *The Communist Manifesto*, which will prepare him to understand the meaning of Marx's fundamental discovery of surplus value.

In addition, there are several short works in which the basic idea of surplus value is explained in a popular form, and these need to be read before *Capital*. Two pamphlets by Marx are at this point essential reading: *Wages, Price and Profit* and *Wage-Labour and Capital*. Along with these, Lenin's *Karl Marx* will be found very helpful and so will Engels' *Karl Marx* and *Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx* (see above Part I), together with Engels' reviews of *Capital* and of *Critique of Political Economy*.

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Having read the above, which are all comparatively short, the reader will be equipped with an elementary working understanding of the leading ideas of the Marxist science of political economy, and of the nature of surplus value in particular.

If he wishes to go further from this point in the study of political economy, then he will be in a position to tackle *Capital*.

To study *Capital* is a major undertaking. Marx himself in a letter to the editor of the first French translation, warned about the difficulties. "Science has no royal road, and only those who are not afraid of tiring themselves by climbing its steep pathways have a chance of attaining the clear light of its summits."

For those who have not time to read right through the first volume of *Capital*, however, Marx himself gave some excellent advice in a letter to Dr. Kugelmann (November 30th, 1867). This was to read the chapters on The Working Day, Co-operation, The Division of Labour and Manufacture, Machinery, and finally Primitive Accumulation. The reading of the short introductory works mentioned above can, if necessary, be followed not at once by reading the whole of *Capital*, but by reading these particular chapters.

But for the student who wishes to master the content and method of *Capital*, it is necessary to read it right through from the beginning, despite the difficulty of the early chapters. Only thus can he grasp the logical and scientific development of Marx's exposition, which on the basis of the analysis of commodity production and then of the formation of capital and surplus value goes on to reveal the economic law of motion of capitalist society.

There are three volumes of *Capital*, and it is the first volume which is most essential. Engels pointed out in a letter to Victor Adler (March 16th, 1895), that the most important chapters in Volume II were Chapters 1, 4, 7, 8, 9 and in Volume III, 1, 4, 8, 9, 13-27, 37, 38, 44-47.

Marx originally intended to publish a fourth volume, parts of which are now available in English under the title *Theories of Surplus Value*. In it will be found a very useful exposition of the basic economic ideas of Marxism. Here also will be found Marx's fullest treatment of the nature of the cyclical economic crises of capitalism, concerning which there is a brief

treatment in Volume I, Chapter 25 and in Volume III, Chapter 15, Section 3, and Chapter 30.

A word must be added about the English translations of *Capital*. The standard translation of Vol. I is that by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, edited by Engels himself. This is at present available in the edition published by Allen & Unwin, edited by Dona Torr. The Everyman edition, with an Introduction by G. D. H. Cole, cannot be recommended, as the translation is less reliable. The only translation of Volumes II and III is that by Ernest Untermann.

As guide and companion to the study of *Capital*, the student should use Engels' *Synopsis of Capital*. He can also refer to Lenin's *What the Friends of the People Are* (see above Part III), in which there is important material about *Capital* and its significance.

A very important exposition of Marxist political economy is contained in Part II of Engels' *Anti-Dühring* (see above Part 2). The later chapters of this part of *Anti-Dühring* expound some of the fundamental concepts of political economy, while the earlier chapters explain how the mode of distribution of products depends on the mode of production.

Of the other works on political economy listed in this part, Marx's *Critique of Political Economy* is not essential reading, since the ground it covers was worked over again by Marx in the first part of *Capital*, and it is no easier to read.

There remains Engels' important articles on *The Housing Question*, Lenin's *Development of Capitalism in Russia*, *Characterization of Economic Romanticism*, and Lenin's articles *On the Agrarian Question*. The latter are essential reading for understanding the development of capitalism in agriculture. And on this special problem the reader can also refer to *Capital*, Volume I, Chapter 15, Section 10, Chapter 25, Section 5e, Chapters 27-30 and Volume III, Part VI.

MARX: Capital

The aim of Marx's *Capital* is "to lay bare the economic law of motion of

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modern society.”

“As long as there are capitalists and workers on earth, no book has appeared which is of as much importance for the workers,” wrote Engels in reviewing *Capital*. “The relation between capital and labour, the hinge on which our entire present system of society turns, is here treated scientifically for the first time.”

In *Capital* are embodied and worked out Marx's two great discoveries—the laws of development of human society (historical materialism) and surplus value, which is the key to the special law of motion governing the capitalist mode of production. By means of these discoveries, Marx in *Capital* shows the origins of capitalism, its development and how on that basis arise and develop the institutions and ideas of capitalist society.

He exposes the innermost nature of the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class, of the class struggle in capitalist society, and consequently the historical mission of the working class, which is to take power, to expropriate the capitalists, and to build socialism.

It is a vast work, uncompleted by Marx at the time of his death. He completed and finished for the press only the first volume, which was published in 1867. After Marx's death, Engels devoted himself to the editing of the second and third volumes, which appeared in 1885 and 1894 respectively.

Volume I.

The first volume explains the nature of capitalist production and its laws of development.

Part I.

Since capitalist production is *commodity* production, in which the wealth of society presents itself as “an immense accumulation of commodities,” the exposition opens with an analysis of the nature of commodities. This analysis, which occupies the long first chapter, constitutes the most difficult part of the whole book.

A commodity is essentially a product of labour, which has a use and which is produced for purposes of exchange. A commodity, therefore, has a twofold nature—a *use-value* and an *exchange-value*. Its use-value is determined by its satisfying some human need. But what determines its exchange-value? In other words, what have commodities in common by virtue of which they can be equated one to another as exchange-values?

Every commodity, Marx answers, is produced by expenditure of human labour, and so embodies a certain quantity of socially necessary labour time. The *value* of a commodity is determined by the quantity of socially necessary labour time embodied in it.

On the basis of his analysis of the nature of commodities and their value, Marx goes on to deal with the nature of *money*. A particular commodity, e.g. gold, becomes money when the values of all other commodities are expressed in terms of this money commodity. Money then functions as a universal measure of value and as the medium for the circulation of commodities.

Part II.

The *transformation of money into capital* depends on the capitalist, as owner of money, being able to buy the labour power of the worker. *Labour power* becomes a commodity which is bought and sold. As with all commodities, its value is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour embodied in it, i.e. by the amount of socially necessary labour required to maintain the worker. When this commodity—labour power—is used, i.e. when the worker is set to work, it is able to produce a new value greater than its own. If, for example, the worker works six hours to reproduce the value of his own labour power, then in all the time he works over six hours he produces a *surplus value*. This is appropriated by the capitalist.

Part III.

Marx then deals in detail with the production of surplus value, which provides the key to understanding the whole process of capitalist production.

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The *labour process*, he shows, involves three factors: (1) the personal activity of man, i.e. work itself; (2) the subject of work; and (3) the instruments. In the labour process man's activity with the help of instruments of labour effects an alteration designed from the commencement in the material worked upon.

The capitalist buys labour power in order to use it for the production of commodities—of values and of surplus value. His capital is divided into *constant capital*, which is expended on raw materials and instruments of labour (machinery, etc.), and *variable capital*, which is expended on buying labour power. The values of the raw material and instruments consumed in the labour process pass unchanged into the value of the product. The surplus value accrues solely from the expenditure of labour power, i.e. from the worker working longer than the time necessary to reproduce the value of his own labour power. The *rate of surplus value*, which measures the degree of exploitation of the worker, is defined, therefore, as the ratio of the total surplus value produced to the variable capital expended.

In capitalist production there is a constant drive to increase the rate as well as the mass of surplus value, i.e. to increase the exploitation of the worker. Therefore in the beginning of the capitalist epoch there occurred a drive to lengthen the working day to its utmost limits. In the chapter on *the working day*, Marx brings forward evidence of this, especially from Britain.

Part IV.

The rate of surplus value can also be increased by increase in the productivity of labour due to use of machinery. For such increase in the productivity of labour reduces the amount of labour time socially necessary to maintain the labourer, and so has the effect of reducing the time which the worker works for himself in relation to the time he works for the production of surplus value for the capitalist.

While surplus value produced by prolongation of the working day is called *absolute surplus value*, that arising from curtailment of necessary labour time is called *relative surplus value*.

Capitalist production has passed through three phases—*simple co-operation*, where a number of individual workpeople are brought together, each producing a finished article: *manufacture*, where numbers co-operate to produce the finished article by division of labour, each performing a partial operation; and *modern industry* using power-driven machinery. In the chapter on *machinery and modern industry*, Marx explains the nature of machinery and deals with its development and its effects upon the workers.

Part V.

Marx then deals with some problems of the production of both absolute and relative surplus value, showing the effects of changes in the length of the working day and of change in both the productiveness and intensity of labour.

Part VI.

The next part deals with the question of *wages*. Wages are wrongly regarded as the price of labour, since labour has itself no value. What is bought and sold for wages is the worker's labour power. Piece wages are a converted form of time wages, just as time wage are a converted form of the price of labour power.

Part VII.

In the process of the *circulation* of capital, three phases are involved. (1) A sum of money is converted into means of production and labour power. (2) By the application of labour the means of production are converted into commodities, whose value contains the capital originally advanced plus a surplus value. (3) By the sale of the commodities produced, the value is again realised in money.

Marx shows that the process of capitalist production is at the same time a process of *accumulation of capital*. A given capital does not merely reproduce itself, but by *the conversion of surplus value into capital* multiplies itself many times over.

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As capital accumulates, the proportion of constant to variable capital increases. There takes place a centralisation of capital into the hands of bigger capitalist concerns, and an “industrial reserve army” is continuously formed. This is composed of workers who have become temporarily redundant, due to the relative diminution of the variable constituent of capital (i.e. that part used to buy labour power), while the total capital increases. It serves as a reservoir of labour for capitalist exploitation.

This is the general law of capitalist accumulation. As a result, there is an accumulation of social misery corresponding with the accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth for the capitalist class is at the same time accumulation of misery for the working class.

Part VIII.

In order that capitalist production should become possible, there must first be an initial accumulation of wealth available for conversion into means of production and labour power, and a supply of “free labourers,” i.e. the creation of a propertyless proletariat with nothing to sell but labour power. The process whereby these conditions were first realised is the process of *primitive accumulation*. Drawing particularly from English sources, Marx shows that it involved (1) colonial plunder, and (2) the expropriation of the peasantry from the land.

The forcible conversion of former small peasant cultivators into wage labourers, compelling them to sell their labour power and to buy the means of subsistence they formerly produced for themselves, was a major factor in creating the *home market* for capitalist production.

Lastly, in the chapter entitled *The Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation*, Marx shows how the laws of development of capitalism inevitably lead to the end of capitalism.

Volume II.

A number of problems are left over for solution from the first volume of *Capital*, though the first volume contains all the essential ideas for their solution. These problems occupy the second and third volumes.

In Volume I Marx had dealt with the essential process underlying capitalist production—the production of surplus value. In Volumes II and III he studies how the production of surplus value is expressed in the familiar capitalist terms—in profit and the rate of profit, in the processes of capitalist circulation, in interest and the credit system, etc. Thus while Volume I deals with the underlying *essence* of capitalist production, Volumes II and III show how this essence is manifested in, gives rise to, all the surface *appearances* of capitalist economy, with which alone the capitalist economists concern themselves.

The second volume deals with *the circulation of capital*. It is divided into three parts.

The first part analyses the series of transformations through which a given capital has to pass—from money to commodities and back to more money. Money capital, having been advanced to buy means of production and labour power, becomes *productive capital*. Then follows the process of production itself, as a result of which a mass of commodities is produced, in which capital appears as *commodity capital*. Lastly, there comes the reconversion into money as a result of the sale of these commodities. Capital must continually rotate through this entire cycle, and Marx analyses the conditions required for the realisation of each stage and the expenses involved at each stage.

This leads to the analysis of *turnover*, which occupies the second part. In this connection the distinction is made between *fixed* and *circulating capital*—the fixed capital being that part (machinery, buildings, etc.) which only partly transfers its value to the product during each separate turnover, while the circulating capital (raw materials and capital expended in wages) has to be renewed after each turnover. The period of turnover has two sections, the time of production and the time of circulation; and the shorter the period of turnover in each of these two sections, the larger the appropriated surplus value, other conditions remaining the same.

The third part deals with the reproduction and circulation of the aggregate social capital. Here Marx divides the total product, and therefore the total production, of society into two great departments: (I) Means of Production, (II) Means of Consumption. He shows how in the total

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process of circulation of the aggregate social capital both the constant and variable capital employed in each of these departments is reproduced.

Volume III.

The third volume, entitled *Capitalist Production as a Whole*, is concerned with rent, interest and profit.

In Volume I Marx explained the nature of surplus value, making it clear that the profit comes from surplus value. The rate of surplus value was defined as the ratio of the total surplus value produced to the variable capital expended. Marx now shows that, as distinct from the rate of surplus value, the *rate of profit* is defined by the ratio of the total surplus value produced to the total capital advanced, including the constant as well as the variable capital.

Marx then explains the formation of *an average rate of profit*. It is clear that the rate of surplus value being given, the rate of profit must be higher according as the proportion of variable to constant capital is greater. But due to competition and the flow of capital from one branch of production to another, the products of one branch are sold above their value and those of another below their value, resulting in the formation of an average rate of profit over capitalist industry as a whole.

From this follows the determination of the *price of production* which is equal to constant and variable capital expended plus the average profit. Deviations of market prices from price of production are explained by variations of supply and demand.

Marx then demonstrates the very important *law of the falling rate of profit*. Since, given the rate of surplus value, the rate of profit must be less where the proportion of constant to variable capital is greater, it follows that as the proportion of constant capital increases over industry as a whole, as a result of increasing mechanisation and higher productivity of labour, the rate of profit for industry as a whole must fall. This tendency of a falling rate of profit can only be counteracted by a corresponding increase in the rate of surplus value, i.e. by increasing the exploitation of the worker.

Marx analyses in detail the nature of *commercial* and *financial capital*

and of *interest* and the *credit system*. Commercial or merchant's capital plays a special part in the process of circulation, facilitating the sale of products of capitalist industry and claiming in return a share of surplus value amounting to at least the average rate of profit. Money capitalists also play a special role in lending out money at interest, the interest being paid out of a portion of the profit. As the credit system develops, a new "aristocracy of finance" emerges. The operative direction of production then begins to be separated from the ownership of capital. The development of the credit system accelerates the accumulation of wealth into a few hands and reduces the process to "a colossal form of gambling and swindling"; and it creates all the prerequisites for the conversion of capitalist property into social property.

Marx shows that the merchant and the usurer are older than the system of capitalist production, and existed in pre-capitalist conditions. Merchants and usurers flourished in both slave and feudal society, and Marx indicates the role they played in slave and in feudal production. The existence of a numerous and powerful class of merchants and usurers did not by itself tend to promote a change in the mode of production.

Marx then analyses the nature of *ground rent*, making the important distinction between *differential* and *absolute ground rent*. *Absolute rent* arises from the generally higher proportion of variable to constant capital in agriculture. This means that a higher rate of profit is realised in agriculture, which is not levelled down to the average rate where private ownership of land prevents the free flow of capital into agriculture. The difference constitutes the absolute rent. *Differential rent* arises from the greater profitability of the cultivation of better as compared with worse land. The additional profit accruing from working the better land as compared with the worst land under cultivation constitutes differential rent.

The whole analysis in Vol. III of *Capital* makes it clear that the working class as a whole is exploited by the capitalist class as a whole, the total surplus value produced being shared out in a variety of ways and in a variety of forms among a number of different capitalist interests.

The last part of Volume III on the revenues and their sources was never finished. In it Marx formulates criticisms of the assumptions of bourgeois

political economy, and provides a brilliant summary of the basic features of the scientific analysis of capitalist production as a whole.

MARX: Critique of Political Economy

Marx's *Critique of Political Economy* was published in 1859. It consists of only two chapters, on commodities and money, and covers the same ground as Part I of *Capital*. It was in fact Marx's first formulation of the theory of commodities and money, from which follows the discovery of surplus value and the whole analysis of the nature and laws of development of capitalism contained in *Capital*. Marx originally intended it to be the first part of a complete treatise on political economy. He modified his plans, however, and eight years later published Volume I of *Capital*.

There is nothing in *Critique of Political Economy* which is not worked out more fully in *Capital*, except that the *Critique* contains polemics against bourgeois political economists omitted in Volume I of *Capital*. These polemics are more fully developed in *Theories of Surplus Value*, and in the chapter "From the Critical History" which Marx contributed to Engels' *Anti-Dühring* (Part II, Chapter X).

The Preface to *Critique of Political Economy* contains Marx's classic formulation of the principles of historical materialism, dealt with above in connection with Stalin's *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*.

Engels on "Capital"

Reviews written by Engels of *Critique of Political Economy* and of *Capital* contain an invaluable introduction to the study of *Capital* itself.

In reviewing the *Critique of Political Economy* for a German paper *The People*, Engels points out that scientific political economy arose in Germany with the rise of the working class party. It is grounded on the materialist conception of history. Engels deals with Marx's relation to Hegel, and then shows how Marx's dialectic was applied in explaining the nature of commodities.

Two reviews of *Capital* by Engels, written for the Leipzig *Democratic*

Weekly and for the *London Fortnightly Review*, give a simple account of Marx's discovery of surplus value.

Engels began the writing of a *Synopsis of Capital*, which he carried on as far as Part IV. This synopsis is a most valuable guide and companion to the study of *Capital* itself.

MARX: Theories of Surplus Value

Theories of Surplus Value is taken from manuscripts which Marx left for the last volume of *Capital* and which Engels intended to edit and publish as Volume IV of *Capital*. Engels did not live to accomplish this task, which was undertaken by Karl Kautsky who published the manuscripts under the separate title, *Theories of Surplus Value*. Kautsky's editorial work has since been sharply criticised in the Soviet Union, where a new complete edition of *Theories of Surplus Value* is at present under preparation.

Theories of Surplus Value consists of a series of studies of economists who preceded Marx, and was arranged by Kautsky in three books:

1. Early theories of surplus value up to Adam Smith;
2. David Ricardo;
3. From Ricardo to the vulgar economists.

None was translated into English until a translation of selections from Parts 1 and 2 appeared in 1952.

Marx had the highest regard for the "classical English political economists" who preceded him, and Lenin in his *Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism* refers to "classical English political economy" as one of the main sources of Marxism. Hence, Marx's study and criticism of this classical political economy is of the greatest interest and helps to clarify many aspects of his own work.

Theories of Surplus Value is likewise of very great importance for the understanding and criticism of bourgeois economic theory, since many of

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the still current arguments which seek to justify capitalist profits are merely refurbished versions of old views critically examined by Marx in this work.

Of special importance in the sections published in English translation will be found:

1. Marx's re-explanation of his own analysis of surplus value in the light of a critique of the discoveries and errors of the "Physiocrats"—together with the whole analysis of this school of political economy, which corresponded to the period when capitalism was arising within decaying feudal society.

2. Marx's examination of the inconsistencies of Adam Smith, who realised that profit comes from unpaid labour, but who fell into confusion over the question of "the value of labour."

3. Marx's explanation of the question of price of production, the rate of profit, and the process of accumulation of capital, in connection with the critique of Ricardo, who, as he shows, failed to distinguish surplus value from profit, and mixed up price of production with value.

4. Marx's analysis of the causes of the cyclical crises of capitalism.

MARX: Wage Labour and Capital

In 1847 Marx gave a series of lectures at the German Workers' Society in Brussels, aimed at making clear to a working class audience the key concepts of political economy. These lectures were subsequently (1849) published as a pamphlet, *Wage Labour and Capital*.

Their main aim is to help the worker to understand his own economic position in capitalist society.

Marx explains that the worker sells his labour power to the capitalist and that the wages he receives are the price of his labour power. He explains how prices are determined and consequently how wages are determined. He proves that there is no "community of interests" between workers and capitalists, but that their interests are diametrically opposed.

Explaining the distinction between real wages and money wages, Marx shows that there exists an inverse ratio between real wages and profits. The constant drive of the capitalist is to rationalise production, cheapen goods, increase competition amongst the workers and keep wages down.

MARX: Wages, Price and Profit

This pamphlet by Marx (which is also known as *Value, Price and Profit*) contains a simple explanation of the basic ideas of political economy—value and surplus value.

This explanation begins with the sixth chapter. Marx explains what is the value of commodities, the relation of value and market prices, the value of labour power, the origin and nature of surplus value, the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit, how surplus value is decomposed into rent, interest and profit.

Thus all the most important conceptions worked out in *Capital* are here introduced to the reader in an easy and popular way.

The pamphlet is based on two speeches made by Marx to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association in 1865. The First International was considering its attitude to the contemporary strike movement and to demands for raising wages: an English delegate, John Weston, put forward the idea that higher wages could not improve the conditions of the workers, since if wages went up, so would prices.

In answering him, Marx shows that wages can rise at the expense of profits. He cuts through all Weston's confusions about "currency circulation," "supply and demand," the "regulation of prices," and proves that a general increase in wages would not mean a rise in prices but a fall in profits.

Marx here demonstrates how the science of political economy is an instrument for showing the workers the way forward, and for clearing up such confusions as those of John Weston. Though spoken nearly a hundred years ago, his words remain very contemporary—the same argument continues in the working class movement.

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In concluding his address, Marx shows that there is no “economic law” which fixes the level of wages and profits. How much shall be paid in wages, how much shall go for profits, is determined in the last analysis by the relative strength of the contending classes, by the class struggle.

He states in conclusion that instead of the conservative motto “A fair day’s wage for a fair day’s work,” the working class should inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword, “Abolition of the wages system.”

ENGELS: The Housing Question

In this book Engels deals with a secondary consequence of the economic law of development of capitalism—the housing question. He shows how not only bad and unhealthy housing, but a housing shortage and high rents, affecting not only the working class but large sections of the middle class also, result from the rapid development of industrial capitalism. He discusses various schemes proposed for solving the housing problem, and concludes that this problem is integrally connected with capitalism and that only by the ending of capitalism will the housing question be finally solved.

It first appeared in the form of three articles in the German socialist press in 1872—when the industrial boom following the end of the Franco-Prussian War, and the rapid growth of the cities, had made the housing problem loom large in Germany. The articles are strongly polemical in character—directed against petty-bourgeois socialists (revivers of the discredited ideas of Proudhon) who were pushing the housing question into the forefront and pretending that their quack remedies for it would transform society.

What are the principal questions dealt with in the articles?

1. Engels exposes the fallacy of those socialists who fancy they can transform capitalism by a few legal reforms.

2. Engels deals with the proposal to solve the housing problem by ensuring that every worker shall own “his own little house.” He shows that this is a utopia, and moreover not a socialist proposal but a thoroughly

reactionary proposal. And in this connection he explains the true economic relation between landlord and tenant and the nature of house-rent. The landlord-tenant relation is not like the relation between capitalist and worker, but is based on an ordinary sale and purchase transaction between two citizens. The landlord sells the use of the house to the tenant.

3. Engels proves that the capitalists, while forced to agree to various steps to alleviate the housing problem, do not want to solve it; and that housing schemes initiated by the capitalist state do not solve it either. He enters in some detail into questions of building societies, state aid for housing, factory housing schemes, town planning.

4. Engels shows how, with the seizure of power by the proletariat, existing housing can be utilised for the benefit of the working class; and he shows how the eventual solution of the housing question will be bound up with the abolition of the antithesis between town and countryside.

LENIN: The Development of Capitalism in Russia

This book, which should be read in conjunction with the first three chapters of the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)*, is an unexcelled example of the application of the Marxist method in the investigation of the development of the economy and class relations in a particular country.

Lenin worked on it during his imprisonment in 1896, and it was finished in exile in Siberia. Its analysis of the social and economic development in Russia provided the basis for the Bolshevik programme and strategy in the 1905-7 Revolution.

Lenin shows how the development of capitalism in Russia was increasing the social division of labour, dividing the producers into capitalists and workers, and creating a home market. Parts of the book only have been translated into English. These are the parts specially concerned with the development of capitalism in Russian agriculture—the growth of capitalist farming amid numerous survivals of serfdom, and the consequent disintegration of the peasantry, with the appearance of a rural bourgeoisie on the one hand and of rural wage-workers on the other.

LENIN: A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism

This was written in 1897 and is directed against the economic theories of the Populists (Narodniks), whose standpoint was based on a utopian desire to halt the development of capitalism and return to small-scale production. In it Lenin criticises the theories of the Swiss economist Sismondi, whose views were highly prized by the Narodniks. This criticism contains illuminating explanations of Marxist economic analysis, and of its relation to the classical bourgeois political economy.

Lenin demonstrates that the progressive character of capitalism consists in the development of the forces of production, and that by bringing to a head the contradiction between social production and private appropriation capitalism prepares the ground for socialism. He contrasts the scientific analysis of Marxism with the romantic views of Sismondi, who recognised the contradictions of capitalism but failed to analyse them scientifically or to understand the laws of capitalist development. Lenin deals especially with the question of the formation of the home market, the connection of production and consumption, the accumulation of capital, and the causes of capitalist crises.

Lenin on the Agrarian Question

In his writings on the agrarian question, Lenin provides, in the first place, an analysis of the laws of development of capitalism in agriculture, based on a wealth of statistical information from European countries and from the U.S.A.

This analysis is to be found in his writings:

Capitalism in Agriculture.

The Agrarian Question and the "Critics" of Marx.

New Data on the Laws of Development of Capitalism in Agriculture.

The Agrarian Programme of Social Democracy in the First Russian Revolution.

These writings are difficult to follow unless the reader has previous acquaintance with the main ideas of Marxist economics. They are an

important continuation and application of the principles of Marx's *Capital*. They constitute an indispensable part of Marxist studies particularly for those concerned with agricultural questions. They are all polemical in style, being directed against writers who either denied the capitalist development of agriculture altogether or misrepresented its laws of development.

In *Capitalism and Agriculture*, Lenin deals with a Narodnik writer who had criticised Kautsky's book on the Agrarian question (written at a time when Kautsky was still a Marxist). Lenin makes clear a number of fundamental characteristics of the development of capitalism in agriculture—the proportion of constant to variable capital increases in agriculture, as in industry; there takes place a concentration of land-ownership in the hands of landlords and mortgage corporations; large-scale production supplants small-scale, not merely by increase in the area of farms but also by increase of intensity of production on a small area: there is growth of wage labour and of the utilisation of machinery. He then shows further how the development of capitalist agriculture is hampered by various difficulties and contradictions, particularly ground rent, the growth of the urban at the expense of rural population, and competition of cheap grain from newly developed areas overseas where the producers are not burdened by ground rent.

The same questions are again taken up in *The Agrarian Question and the 'Critics' of Marx*. Here, after a fundamental explanation of the fallacy of the so-called “law” of diminishing returns, and an exposition of the Marxist theory of ground rent, Lenin deals especially with the question of large-scale versus small-scale farming, exposing the error of those who imagine that small farming is more “progressive.”²⁷³

New Data on the Laws of Development of Capitalism in Agriculture brings out further the points already explained by means of a profound analysis of the development of agriculture in the United States. Amongst other points emphasised both in this and the previous articles is the essentially capitalist character of agricultural co-operation, in a capitalist state, through farmers' co-operative associations.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ See Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*.

²⁷⁴ But see also Lenin *On Co-operation*.

In *The Agrarian Programme of Social Democracy in the First Russian Revolution*, 1905-7, Lenin gives a detailed analysis of the existing system of land ownership in Russia and of the tasks of the agrarian revolution in Russia.

The key issues are confiscation of the estates of the landlords and nationalisation of the land. Lenin proves that the nationalisation of the land, in a capitalist state, does not destroy capitalism in agriculture but, on the contrary, by removing the main obstacles to the free investment of capital in agriculture, furthers its development. This point is developed in Chapter III, which also contains a simple exposition of the Marxist theory of ground rent. (Chapter III of this book is published separately in the 12-volume edition of *Lenin Selected Works*, Vol. XII; the other chapters, I, II, IV and Conclusion, are included in *Lenin Selected Works*, Vol. III.)

Two writings by Lenin dealing with the agrarian question in pre-revolutionary Russia must be noted here, in addition to the treatment of the development of capitalism in Russian agriculture contained in the relevant chapters of *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

In *The Agrarian Question in Russia at the end of the Nineteenth Century*, Lenin gives a detailed analysis of the types of farming in Russia and of their development, of the classes, of the process of division of the peasants, and concludes that two alternative paths of development were open to Russian agriculture—the “Russian” path, through the growth of kulak farming, or the “American” path, through the nationalisation of the land. This analysis provided the basis for the agrarian programme of Russian Social-Democracy, including its demand, voiced later, for the nationalisation of the land.

In the booklet *To the Rural Poor* published in 1903 for illegal distribution amongst the peasants, we find a model of the simple, popular and forceful presentation of the party's whole economic and class analysts and programme of action.

5. THE WORKING CLASS PARTY

INTRODUCTION

Marxism teaches that without its own political party the working class cannot defeat capitalism, cannot win power and cannot build socialism.

Marx and Engels stressed above all the need for an independent working class political party. “The working class can act as a class only by establishing a distinct political party, opposed to all the old parties formed by the possessing classes”— so said the rules of the First International, founded by Marx.

Marx and Engels were writing in a period when the working class movement was still in process of formation, and their attitude was summed up in the *Communist Manifesto*: “The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties.” They strove to unite the working class behind a common political programme, its basic aim the conquest of political power.

Marx and Engels resolutely fought all attempts to introduce bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas and policies into the party, and to turn it into a party of class collaboration. They sought to base the party on the revolutionary principles of Marxism and to win over to these principles the main organisations of the working class. Such was their entire political activity. And they paid the closest attention to defining the attitude of the working class to all other classes, particularly to the peasantry, whom they regarded as most important *allies* of the working class.

Lenin founded the Bolshevik Party at the beginning of the epoch of imperialism. After decades of relatively “peaceful” development, opportunist tendencies had become rife in the West European socialist parties. An overhaul of the entire activity of the International, and a decisive break with opportunism, had become urgently necessary. In the Bolshevik Party he created a working class party *of a new type*, able to unite and lead the working class in the decisive battles against capitalism—a party embodying strong democratic centralisation and voluntary discipline, firmly based on the revolutionary principles of Marxism, able to apply them and to carry them forward.

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Such a party, equipped with revolutionary theory, acts as the vanguard of the working class. It is an organised detachment of the working class, and the highest form of organisation of the working class, influencing, leading and directing all the various organisations of the workers towards the great aim of conquering power and building socialism. It acts as the instrument for the dictatorship of the proletariat. It preserves strict unity and discipline, allowing no factional activity to disrupt it. It purges itself of opportunists. It bases its policy at each stage of the struggle on the principle of determining against what enemy the main blow is to be directed, and of drawing all possible allies into that struggle against the enemy.

The Bolshevik Party was built in the struggle for revolutionary Marxism against opportunism in the working class movement. Its policy and organisational principles were established in the fight against “economism,” which believed that the workers should concentrate on fighting only for economic demands; against the Mensheviks, who strove to weaken the organisation and unity of the party as a step to introducing policies of class collaboration; and likewise against “leftists,” who isolated the party from the masses, rejected allies, and substituted “revolutionary” phrases for mass work and a policy founded on a realistic estimate of the stage of development of the struggle.

Lenin exposed and fought the opportunism of the leaders of the Second International, which culminated in betrayal by those leaders in the imperialist war, 1914-18. He made clear the difference between just and unjust wars, and the policy of the working class on war.

Lenin's teachings on the party of a new type have been carried forward by the Communist Parties and they have been further developed by Stalin.

In this part we call attention to writings by Marx, Engels and Lenin which deal *specially* with the Party, with its role, its organisation and its policy. But *the whole* of Marxism-Leninism constitutes the guiding theory and the definition of the strategy and tactics of the working class party.

Fundamental reading on the question of the party has already been dealt with in Part 2. On this question the student should turn first of all to the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)*; *Foundations of Leninism*, Chapters 7 and 8; and the *Communist Manifesto*.

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After that, the most essential reading is Lenin's two books, *What is to be Done?* and *Left-Wing Communism*-, to which may be added *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*.

The student should also turn to the sections on the party in Stalin's *Reports to the 17th and 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B)* (dealt with below, Part 8).

Next, the student should take up Lenin's writings which deal specially with the opportunism of the Second International (these are to be found in the booklet *Lenin and Britain*, and in the collection *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, as well as in the editions of *Lenin's Selected Works*); and with the attitude of the working class to imperialist war—*Socialism and War* and *War and the Workers*. Lastly come Lenin's contributions in connection with the foundation and work of the Communist International.

The beginner may well find it best to turn to the works by Marx and Engels on the party after, and not before, studying the works by Lenin and Stalin: their historical significance will then be better appreciated. These works are all short and (except for Engels' articles on Britain) are all contained in the two volumes of *Marx-Engels Selected Works*. These writings on the party are here presented under four headings:

- A. Marx and Engels on the party,
- B. Lenin and the Party of a New Type,
- C. The Fight against the Opportunism of the Second International,
- D. The Communist International.

A. AN INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS PARTY

Marx and Engels on the Party

MARX: Inaugural Address to the International Working Men's Association

This address lays down the general policy around which Marx sought in

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1864 to consolidate the First International. He stresses that the increasing prosperity of the capitalists means increasing misery for the workers.²⁷⁵

Capitalism can be finally defeated only by political struggle. The workers possess “one element of success—numbers; but numbers weigh only in the balance if united by combination and led by knowledge.”

The workers must unite in every country and internationally for the emancipation of labour. And their strength must be exerted also to oppose the warlike and predatory foreign policies of the capitalist governments.

The *General Rules* of the International Working Men's Association, drafted by Marx, embody the principles on which the working class party must be built:—

The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself; the emancipation of the working class from capitalism must be the great end to which every political movement should subordinate itself;

This end can only be achieved by the union of workers of all countries;

The working class can act as a class only by establishing a distinct political party, opposed to all the old parties formed by the possessing classes;

Such a party is the indispensable instrument for the socialist revolution and for the abolition of classes;

The union of the working class achieved in economic struggle must serve as a lever for struggle against the political power of the capitalists, and the conquest of political power by the working class.²⁷⁶

Marx's *Inaugural Address* and the *General Rules* of the I.W.M.A. constituted a platform on which it was possible to unite the many different sections of the international working class movement—for the inaugural conference was supported by representatives of many organisations, ranging from illegal revolutionary groups to the already “respectable” British trade unions. Through the unity and common programme achieved

²⁷⁵ See *Capital*, Vol. I.

²⁷⁶ See Marx, *Address of Central Committee to the Communist League*.

in the I.W.M.A. Marx sought to lay the foundations of a party capable of welding the working class into a single political army.

ENGELS: On Authority

This short article was written for an Italian journal in 1874, against the Anarchists. It shows the need for a centralised and disciplined working class party which will lead the way to the establishment of a workers' state.

Along with this article can usefully be read the letters by Marx and Engels about the fight against the Anarchists²⁷⁷ published in Vol. II of the Moscow edition of *Marx-Engels Selected Works*. These letters consist of: Marx to Bolte, 1871, and Engels to Kuno, 1872.

ENGELS: Marx and the New Rhenish Gazette

This article, written in 1884, supplies a model of how to run a working class newspaper²⁷⁸ in a revolutionary period. It deals with the experience of the *New Rhenish Gazette*, the daily newspaper of which Marx was the editor in the years 1848-9.

The *New Rhenish Gazette* was set up because Marx realised the need for a daily newspaper. "Its banner," says Engels, "was that of democracy." It sought to lead the contemporary revolutionary struggle for democracy, taking up the movement at its most advanced point and seeking to push it further. The alternative to this policy, says Engels, would have been to produce the "little provincial sheet" of a "tiny sect," instead of the "great newspaper of a great party in action."

²⁷⁷ See also Stalin, *Anarchism or Socialism*; Lenin, *State and Revolution*; Marx, *The Revolution in Spain*.

²⁷⁸ See also Lenin, *What is to be Done*; *History of C.P.S.U.(B)* Ch. 5, Section 2.

MARX AND ENGELS: Circular Letter

This “Circular Letter” addressed by Marx and Engels in 1879 to leading members of the German Social Democratic Party contains Marx and Engels’ protest at that time against the petty bourgeois elements who were trying to divert the working class on to the path of class collaboration.

Three leading members of the party, whom Marx and Engels call “the three censors of Zurich,” had demanded that, instead of being a “one-sided workers’ party,” the party should be made “an all-sided party”; that “educated members of the propertied classes” should assume prominent places in its leadership and as its parliamentary representatives: that the bourgeoisie should not be scared or antagonised by “exaggerated attacks”; that the bourgeoisie should not be fought but “won over.”

Marx and Engels denounced all this as a programme of representatives of the petty bourgeoisie who had insinuated themselves into the working class movement.²⁷⁹ They declared that it was impossible to co-operate in the same party with people who repudiated the class struggle, and that they must adhere to the old battle cry of the First International—“The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself.” While the party welcomed bourgeois converts, it welcomed them on condition that they whole-heartedly adopted the proletarian outlook and did not bring with them into the party all manner of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas.

ENGELS: Articles in “The Labour Standard”

In 1881 Engels wrote ten short articles for *The Labour Standard*, journal of the London Trades Council, which have been republished under the title *The British Labour Movement*.

In these articles he insists that the task of the working class is not merely to defend its position and seek for reforms under capitalism, but to fight for power and to end capitalism. He urges the formation of an

²⁷⁹ See Lenin, *Historical Destiny of the Teachings of Karl Marx, Marxism and Revisionism, Differences in the European Labour Movement*.

independent working class party in Britain, and that the trade unions should use their organised power for the setting up of such a party.²⁸⁰

ENGELS: Prefatory Note to “The Peasant War in Germany”

This note, written in 1874, is of very great importance, because:

1. It discusses the attitude of the working class to other classes—the urban petty bourgeoisie, the lumpen-proletariat, the small peasants and agricultural labourers; and

2. In the advice given to the German working class movement at the end, Engels formulates universal tasks of the working class movement, stressing the need for

(a) clear theoretical insight, free from the influence of the old world outlook. “Since Socialism has become a science, it must be studied”;

(b) the strengthening of both political and trade union organisation;

(c) to carry on the fight inside as well as outside Parliament;

(d) to safeguard the international spirit

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ENGELS: The Peasant Question in France and Germany

This article, written in 1894, deals in detail with the relationship of the working class to the peasants and proves the necessity of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ See also *Lenin and Britain*.

²⁸¹ See Lenin, *What the “Friends of the People” Are, Two Tactics of Social Democracy, Theses of Report on Tactics of R.C.P. at 3rd Congress of C.I., Theses on Agrarian Question*; Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism, The October Revolution, Reports to 14th and 15th Congresses C.P.S.U.(B), The Party's Three Fundamental Slogans on the Peasant Problem, Dizzy with Success, Speech to Collective Farm Shock Workers, On the U.S.S.R. Draft Constitution, History of C.P.S.U.(B)*.

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Engels proves that the development of capitalism inevitably spells the ruin of small peasant production; but despite this, peasant “apathy” is one of the great supports of reaction. In order to conquer political power, says Engels, the working class “must first go from the towns to the country, must become a power in the countryside.” It cannot afford to “leave the doomed peasant in the hands of his false protectors, until he has been transformed from a passive to an active opponent of the industrial workers.”

Engels stresses that the working class should not try to win over the peasants by making them promises which cannot be fulfilled. He strongly criticises the policy of the French party, which promised to preserve small peasant property. Not only is such a promise contrary to the aims of socialism, but it cannot be fulfilled, since it is impossible to “save” doomed small property.

The main point is to make the peasants understand that they can save their houses and fields only by transforming them into co-operative property, operated co-operatively. But the working class must never attempt to impose such co-operation by force.

Engels attached considerable importance to the division of the peasantry into different sections. The small peasants, he explains, are the principal allies; but he considers that sections of the big and medium peasants can also be won, or at least neutralised. As for the big estates, the policy of the working class should be to expropriate the landowners (if necessary buying them out), and to turn the land over to the rural workers to be cultivated co-operatively.

B. THE PARTY OF A NEW TYPE

Lenin on the Organisational Principles, Strategy and Tactics of the Party

LENIN: What is to be Done?

What is to be Done is a book of key importance for the Marxist conception of the tasks of the working class party. To understand the circumstances in which it was written, and as an aid to grasping its

principal points, the reader should consult the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)*, Chapter I, Section 5 and Chapter II, Section 2.

What is to be Done was directed against those who in the early days after the establishment of a working class party in Russia taught that the workers should engage in economic struggle only, concentrating on bread-and-butter problems rather than political issues. Lenin saw in this trend the nucleus of opportunism in the working class movement, of class collaboration.

The “Economists,” as they were called, began their campaign by demanding “freedom of criticism” in the party, attacking what they called the “narrow political views” of Lenin. The first chapter of *What is to be Done* is accordingly devoted to the question of “Freedom of criticism.” Lenin shows that the “freedom of criticism” demanded by the Economists means freedom to embrace bourgeois ideas instead of Marxism, and that this opens the way to collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Of course, he says, the Economists are “free” to take the path of class collaboration, but not to drag the party with them.

Lenin shows that to confine the working class movement to economic struggle alone means to give up the political struggle and so to condemn the workers to eternal wage slavery. The Economists relied on the spontaneous movement of the workers protesting against bad economic conditions. Lenin shows that to rely in this way on spontaneity is “tailism” (*kvostism*), i.e. it is to tail behind events, instead of giving leadership. Political knowledge cannot arise in the working class movement spontaneously, as a result of spontaneous economic struggle alone. Political knowledge, revolutionary theory, must be introduced into the working class movement. The Economists belittled the role of theory. But “without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.”
²⁸²

Lenin shows that the roots of opportunist ideas and of opportunist policies in the labour movement lie in the attitude of relying on the spontaneous movement and belittling the role of theory.

²⁸² See Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*.

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In *What is to be Done* Lenin shows concretely how to combine political and economic struggle. Working class political struggle must be something much broader than mere “trade union politics.” The workers must be concerned with “the inter-relations between all the various classes,” and must fight against every manifestation of reaction. In advocating economic struggle alone, the Economists sank into reformism, opportunism. But the struggle for reforms must be subordinated to the struggle for liberty and socialism.

In *What is to be Done* Lenin also deals with questions of party organisation. He stresses the need for a centralised disciplined organisation, for the practical and theoretical training of revolutionaries, for a firm Marxist theoretical basis.

LENIN: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back

This book is of key importance in establishing the principles of organisation of the Communist Party. It was written in 1904 following the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party—the Congress at which the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks first showed itself.

In order to understand this book and its background, the reader should consult the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Chapter II, Sections 3 and 4. At the 2nd Congress in 1903, two opposed groups became apparent in the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, revolutionary and opportunist. After the adoption of the Party Programme there took place a dispute over the Party Rules. Lenin and his followers held that there should be three conditions for party membership:

- (1) Acceptance of the programme,
- (2) Payment of dues,
- (3) Belonging to a party organisation.

His opponents held that condition (3) was not necessary.

At the end of this Congress the followers of Lenin gained a majority on the Central Committee and on the Editorial Board of the party newspaper *Iskra*. They therefore became known as the Bolsheviks—from the Russian word meaning “Majority”—while the others were known as

Mensheviks—from the Russian word for “Minority.” But afterwards, the Mensheviks managed to capture *Iskra* and began an attack on the party organisation, which they declared was too “rigid.” They wanted “liberty” for individuals not to obey party decisions. The opportunists thus began their operations by an attack on the principles of party organisation.

Lenin recognised that this attempt to weaken the party organisation was a prelude to imposing opportunist policies on the party concerning the major political issues. In *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, after analysing the proceedings and the votes at the 2nd Congress, and demonstrating the existence of two wings—a revolutionary and an opportunist wing—²⁸³ Lenin shows the need for a disciplined centralised party of the working class.

LENIN: “Left Wing” Communism, an Infantile Disorder

Left Wing Communism is a handbook of Communist Party strategy and tactics, of Communist leadership, and the building of a mass party. It was written in 1920, at the time of the 2nd Congress of the Communist International, in order to correct the “leftist” mistakes being made by Communists in a number of countries.

Lenin draws on the experiences of the Russian Bolsheviks as a guide for the world Communist movement.

The Bolshevik Party, he points out, grew strong and became steeled not only in the fight against opportunism, but also in the fight against “petty-bourgeois leftism.”

What are the principal teachings of *Left Wing Communism*?

Lenin shows the need for a centralised and disciplined party and for maintaining proper relationships between leaders, party, class and masses. He shows the need for a firm party leadership and the danger of leftist talk which seeks to oppose “masses against leaders.” Such leftist talk, he shows, amounts to repudiation of the party and of party discipline, that is, disarming the proletariat for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. Such an

²⁸³ See Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*.

attitude does not spring from the working class, which understands the need for organisation, but from the petty bourgeoisie.²⁸⁴ Our task is not only to defeat the big capitalists, but also (what is even more difficult), to remould and re-educate the small producers. This requires a long and arduous struggle against the forces and traditions of the old system,²⁸⁵ which can only be carried out by a centralised and disciplined party.

Lenin further shows how leftist moods play into the hands of *agents provocateurs*.

2. Lenin shows the need for a “mass party.” He shows that the task is to lead the masses, not just to lead the party—to bring millions of people into action.²⁸⁶ It is necessary for the party to work wherever the masses are to be found, to penetrate everywhere, to rouse the masses and draw them into the struggle.

In this connection he stresses how important it is to work in the trade unions; to refuse to do so on the pretext that the trade unions are “reactionary” would mean to leave the mass of the workers under the influence of a handful of reactionary leaders. We must work wherever the masses are to be found, taking into account their level of development, not fence ourselves off from them by artificial “left-wing” slogans.

3. Lenin shows that the party must master all forms of working class struggle. In conditions of illegality it must learn to combine legal with illegal struggle. He particularly stresses the need for the party to master the methods of parliamentary struggle, of participation in elections and in bourgeois parliaments for the purpose of educating, awakening and enlightening the masses.²⁸⁷

He stresses that the party must be ready quickly to pass from one form of struggle to another, and must practise self-criticism and learn from its own mistakes.²⁸⁸ Otherwise it is not a mass party but a group of

²⁸⁴ See Lenin, *What is to be Done?, One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*.

²⁸⁵ See Lenin, *Deception of the People*.

²⁸⁶ See Lenin, *Theses on Fundamental Tasks of C.I., In Support of Tactics of C.I., Letter to German Communists*.

²⁸⁷ See Lenin, *Tasks of 3rd International*.

²⁸⁸ See *History of C.P.S.U. (B), Conclusion; Stalin, Report to 15th Congress C.P.S.U. (B)*.

intellectuals.

4. Lenin ridicules the leftists who put forward the slogan “no compromise.” We must know how to reach compromise agreements with other parties and to apply these tactics to raise and not lower the workers’ ability to fight and conquer. It is necessary to win every possible ally and to utilise every division in the ranks of the enemy.²⁸⁹

It is necessary, moreover, to learn not to fall into enemy traps—not to accept battle at a time advantageous to the enemy and to avoid an obviously disadvantageous battle.

In Chapter 9 Lenin deals with Britain and expounds the tactics of building unity with Labour against the Tories. This, he says, will enable the British communists to gain the ear of the masses, to educate them and to hasten the end of right-wing influence.²⁹⁰

5. Lenin shows that the communists must find the correct form of approach, the correct road to the proletarian revolution in each country. The struggle has features peculiar to each country. We cannot lay down general rules applicable to all cases, but it is necessary that the fundamental principles of communism shall be correctly adapted to national and national-state differences. Attention must be concentrated, says Lenin,²⁹¹ on finding forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution. This means to find the right path to bring the masses up to the decisive revolutionary struggle.

In this connection he deals with the conditions necessary for the successful carrying through of the proletarian socialist revolution.

C. THE FIGHT AGAINST THE OPPORTUNISM OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

Lenin on Opportunism and its Roots in the Labour Movement

²⁸⁹ See Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*.

²⁹⁰ See Lenin and Britain; Lenin, *The Role of the Communist Party*.

²⁹¹ See Lenin, *State and Revolution*.

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Lenin's fundamental analysis of the nature and causes of opportunism in the labour movement, which is summed up in his book *Imperialism, the Last Stage of Capitalism*, is worked out in a number of comparatively short articles.

In *The Historical Destiny of the Teaching of Karl Marx* (1913) Lenin showed that up to that time the working class movement had passed through three main stages. The first was the period of revolutionary storm, from the 1848 revolutions to the Paris Commune of 1871, in the course of which independent working class parties were first organised. The next phase, up to the Russian Revolution of 1905, was a phase of comparatively "peaceful" development. The working class parties grew stronger, established their own daily press and learned to use bourgeois parliamentarism. But in this phase opportunism crept into the movement, preaching "social peace" and renunciation of class struggle. Lastly, since the 1905 Revolution, new revolutionary crises were on the way, and it was absolutely essential to drive opportunism out of the movement and secure the victory of revolutionary Marxism.

In an earlier article, *Marxism and Revisionism* (1908), Lenin analysed revisionism—the "theory" of the opportunists who continued to call themselves Marxists while revising all the fundamental principles of Marxism. He showed that the revisionists relied on the "latest thing" in bourgeois philosophy, giving up materialist dialectics; that they took up with the latest theories of bourgeois political economy, in particular "correcting" Marx's theory of value and denying the inevitability of capitalist crises; and that they affirmed that democracy and universal suffrage had removed the grounds of the class struggle.²⁹²

Revisionism led to giving up the aim of socialism and "sacrificing the basic interests of the working class for real or assumed momentary advantages." It represented the influence of the petty bourgeoisie in the working class movement.

In *Differences in the European Labour Movement* (1910) Lenin points out that the appearance of such anti-Marxist trends in the Labour movement could not be accidental, but arose from the character of economic development in all capitalist countries. And in *Reformism in the Russian Social-Democratic Movement* (1911) he relates reformist ideas

²⁹² See Lenin, *Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism*.

directly to the influence of capitalist propaganda. Instead of fighting openly against socialism, the capitalists were learning to advocate the gradual, piecemeal reform of capitalism—the patching up of capitalism; and they were utilising such propaganda in order to divide and weaken the working class and maintain capitalist class rule. This propaganda was reflected in reformist ideology inside the working class movement itself—the advocacy of reforms versus revolution. (This article contains a wealth of detail argument against the reformist socialists who said that the Russian workers must on no account turn again to the path of revolution.)

In *Imperialism and the Split in Socialism* (1916) Lenin sums up the fundamental cause of the prevalence and strength of opportunism in the labour movement. It arises from the fact that the super-profits of imperialism could be used to bribe and corrupt an upper stratum of the working class. As a result of this, “a bourgeois Labour Party” inevitably made its appearance in all imperialist countries.

Dealing with Britain in particular, Lenin shows that opportunism had prevailed for decades, beginning before the birth of imperialism proper in Britain. The industrial monopoly and rich colonies possessed by the British capitalists in the pre-imperialist phase of development was already bringing them super-profits, thus already producing certain of the features of imperialism.

Lenin had also dealt with this theme in his book *The Collapse of the Second International* (1915). Here he defines the meaning of the term “opportunism.” It means “sacrificing to the temporary interests of an insignificant minority of the workers the fundamental interests of the masses;” or, in other words, “an alliance of a part of the workers with the bourgeoisie against the mass of the proletariat.”

Opportunism could arise and grow strong because the capitalists were able to make concessions to a section of the workers in imperialist countries, thus creating a “layer” of privileged workers. Opportunism is strengthened, Lenin adds, by “the power of habit, the routine of comparatively peaceful evolution, national prejudices, fear of acute breaks and disbelief in them.”

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The opportunism of the leaders of the Second International culminated in their going over to the side of their own imperialists in 1914. Lenin tears to pieces their arguments justifying their support of the imperialist war. We find on the part of the opportunist leaders, Lenin concludes, "socialism in words," but in practice "joining the bourgeoisie in every serious crisis."²⁹³ They must be expelled from the working class parties.

Lenin on War

The fundamental teachings concerning the attitude of the working class party towards war were hammered out by Lenin during the First World War. They are summed up in *History of C.P.S.U.(B)*, Chapter 6, Section 3.

In *Socialism and War* (1915) Lenin establishes the distinction between just and unjust wars,²⁹⁴ and sums up the essential teachings of Marxism on the policy of the working class in an unjust, imperialist war.

He shows that the war which broke out in 1914 was an unjust imperialist war waged between two rival blocs of imperialist powers. In such a war the working class on each side must oppose its own imperialism, and strive to "turn the imperialist war into civil war."

Lenin showed that when imperialist war had broken out it was impossible to establish a just peace without overthrowing the imperialist governments. Hence the abstract slogan of "peace" put forward during the war by certain liberals and pacifists was a deceptive slogan. He shows that the support of the war by the "socialists" of the Second International was a direct betrayal of socialism. He coins the phrase "social-chauvinism" to denote their policy. Social-chauvinism is defence of the fatherland in an unjust war undertaken by people calling themselves socialists. Lenin calls for a break with opportunism and social-chauvinism on an international scale, and the setting up of a new Third International on a revolutionary basis.

²⁹³ See Lenin, *Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution*, 'The 3rd International and its Place in History, Tasks of the 3rd International, Conditions of Affiliation to the C.I., False Speeches about Freedom.

²⁹⁴ See Marx, *The Civil War in France*.

Lenin again expounds the Marxist attitude to imperialist war in a *Lecture on War* delivered in May, 1917. He again stresses the distinction of just and unjust wars, explaining that we must always ask what class conducts the war and for what aims.

In other articles Lenin deals with certain special problems arising out of the world war. In *The United States of Europe Slogan* (1915) he shows that the workers could not support such a slogan. For so long as imperialist powers remain in being, a “united states of Europe” could mean nothing else than an agreement to divide up colonies and booty and jointly to suppress socialism.

Socialism will eventually make possible “the United States of the World.” But this is not a practical objective at the present time. For as a result of the uneven development of capitalism,²⁹⁵ “the victory of socialism is possible in several or even in one capitalist country taken singly”; and such a country or countries may for a long period remain centres of socialism around which there are still ringed hostile capitalist states.²⁹⁶

In *Pacifism and the Workers* Lenin deals with the pacifist slogan of complete disarmament. He shows that it is unrealisable in capitalist conditions, and that to campaign for it is therefore to avoid the real issues of revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

The oppressed peoples cannot be pacifists, but must learn the use of arms and be prepared to turn them against their oppressors. Oppressed people who cannot use arms deserve to be treated like slaves. We cannot be pacifists, because we recognise the existence of just wars, of wars of the oppressed against the oppressors.

The same theme recurs in *The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution* (1916). In the first part of this article Lenin shows that socialists are not and cannot be opposed to all wars. For there are wars of oppressed peoples fighting for their liberation; civil wars; and when socialism is established, there may be wars to defend socialist countries

²⁹⁵ See Lenin, *Imperialism*.

²⁹⁶ See Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism, Interview with First American Labour Delegation*.

from imperialist attack. Oppressed peoples must be ready to wage wars of liberation. And socialist peoples must be ready to defend their socialist fatherland.²⁹⁷

In the remaining parts of this article Lenin deals further with the working class attitude to military training, arms and the use of arms.

Lenin on the British Labour Movement

In a number of observations on the British Labour Movement, included in the volume *Lenin and Britain*, Lenin shows:

1. How Marx and Engels stressed the paramount importance of building an independent working class movement in Britain.²⁹⁸ Their attitude provided a vivid illustration of the principle that Marxism is the union of socialism with the mass working class movement. Marx and Engels condemned the sectarianism of the old Social Democratic Federation in Britain, which preached a dogmatic “orthodoxy” while holding itself aloof from the working class movement. They insisted that the socialists should “throw off their narrow sectarianism at all costs and affiliate to the Labour Movement.” On the other hand, they insisted on the fight against opportunism in the Labour Movement, and to equip the movement with revolutionary theory.

2. Dealing with the British Labour Party, Lenin shows how important was the fight for a socialist policy in the Labour Party, and appraises the Labour Party as “the first step on the part of the really conscious proletarian organisations of Britain towards a conscious class policy and towards a socialist Labour Party.” But he wrote of the Labour Party in 1918 that “although it consists of workers it is led by reactionaries.”

3. He demonstrates the need for building the Communist Party in Britain,²⁹⁹ and for the Communist Party to seek to affiliate to the Labour Party.

²⁹⁷ See Lenin, *Tasks of Proletariat in Our Revolution, The April Conference*.

²⁹⁸ See Engels, *The British Labour Movement*, and Marx-Engels *Correspondence*.

²⁹⁹ See Lenin, *Role of the Communist Party*.

D. THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Lenin and the Communist International

In his pamphlet, *Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*, which he published in April 1917 on his return to Russia after the February Revolution of that year, Lenin distinguished three trends in the international movement: the social chauvinists, who were lined up openly with their own imperialists; the centrists, who conciliated with them; and the genuine internationalists, who opposed the imperialist war. Lenin proclaimed that it was urgently necessary for the latter to set up a new Communist International, which would break completely with opportunism and unite the working class on the basis of the revolutionary principles of Marxism.

The First Congress of the Communist International was held in the spring of 1919.

Immediately afterwards, in his article *The Third International and its Place in History*, Lenin pointed out that while the 1st International had laid the foundation of the international working class struggle for socialism, and the 2nd International had broadened the movement in a number of countries, the 3rd International was purging the movement of opportunism and had begun to realise the dictatorship of the proletariat, opening up a new epoch in world history.

Throughout Lenin's contributions to the Communist International runs the theme of the fight against opportunism, and also against petty-bourgeois "leftism" which isolates the Communists from the mass of the workers. (See *Left Wing Communism*.)

In the pamphlet, *The Tasks of the Third International* (July, 1919), Lenin underlined the necessity to:

1. Systematically explain the difference between reform and revolution, while not rejecting reforms nor work in bourgeois parliaments.

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2. Combine legal and illegal work.
3. Work for the expulsion of the opportunists from the labour movement.
4. Assist the revolutionary struggle for colonial liberation.
5. Expose those who used revolutionary phrases as a cover for reactionary deeds.

At the Second Congress of the C.I., in the summer of 1920, Lenin drafted the *Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the 2nd Congress of the C.I.* These laid it down that the victory of socialism requires:

1. the overthrow and suppression of the exploiters;
2. the winning of the working masses behind the leadership of the Communist Parties, which must become inseparably linked with the whole life of the working class;
3. the neutralising of wavering sections.

The Thesis go on to deal with what the communists must do to realise these conditions and to stress that opportunism in the working class movement is the principal enemy.

In a report delivered to the Second Congress on *The International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the C.I.* Lenin exhaustively analysed the post-war economic and political situation.

At the Second Congress he drafted *The Conditions of Affiliation to the C.I.* And in his speech on this subject he dealt especially with the difference between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the reformist conception of winning power.”

Lenin likewise drafted the *Theses on the Agrarian Question*, which deal with the tasks of building the alliance with the peasants; and the *Theses on the National and Colonial Question*.

In a speech on *The Role of the Communist Party* Lenin replied to the

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British delegates Tanner and McLaine, showing that the conscious revolutionary minority of the working class must form a party in order to lead the masses, and dealing also with the problem of the affiliation of the British Communist Party to the Labour Party.

An article written at the same time on *False Speeches About Freedom* explains the necessity of a break with opportunism. In a speech *In Support of the Tactics of the C.I.*, at the Third Congress in the summer of 1921, Lenin stresses that the party must win leadership of the masses, i.e. of the majority of the working people. Unless this majority is won to follow the lead of the party, victory of socialism is impossible.

The same theme recurs in a Letter to the German Communists.

6. THE BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

INTRODUCTION

The Marxist theory of class struggle distinguishes between the bourgeois revolution and the socialist (or proletarian) revolution.

The bourgeois and socialist revolutions are distinguished by the different *tasks or aims* which are undertaken in each.

The task of the *bourgeois revolution* is, in the economic sphere, to abolish all remnants of feudalism and to establish conditions for the free development of capitalism; and in the political sphere, to abolish all remnants of absolutism and autocracy and to establish universal suffrage, parliamentary democracy, equality of rights for all citizens.

In view of this political task, the bourgeois revolution is often called the *bourgeois-democratic revolution*, or simply the *democratic revolution*.

The task of the *socialist revolution* is, in the economic sphere, to abolish capitalist ownership and establish public socialist ownership of the means of production; and in the political sphere, to establish proletarian democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx taught that the task of advancing to the socialist revolution was inseparable from the task of carrying through the bourgeois revolution. For the socialist revolution could not be victorious except on condition that the fight was waged for democracy and against survivals of feudalism and absolutism. Hence Marx always set before the working class the task of waging the battles of the bourgeois democratic revolution as a necessary step towards beginning the socialist revolution. And he warned that when confronted with the democratic demands of the working people, sections of the bourgeoisie would seek to desert and betray the democratic revolution.

Marx taught, moreover, that the victory of the bourgeois revolution did not necessarily mean that the bourgeoisie must be firmly installed in power and that capitalism must remain and continue to develop over a long period. On the contrary, from the battles of the bourgeois revolution the working class must march straight on to the socialist revolution, not

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allowing the bourgeoisie to consolidate itself in power and to carry on the capitalist system. This doctrine of Marx is sometimes known as the theory of *permanent, uninterrupted or continuous revolution*.

In the revolutionary period of 1848-50, Marx taught that the working class must support and push on the bourgeoisie in the fight for a democratic republic. The successful outcome of the revolution would place the bourgeoisie in power. But the working class must establish its own independent class organisations, its own party; must advance its own demands; and carry on the revolution until working class power was achieved.

Developing Marx's teachings in a new historical situation in the era of imperialism, a new line on the task of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution was advanced by Lenin in the Russian Revolution of 1905.

Lenin taught that *the working class must itself take the lead in the bourgeois-democratic revolution*, mobilising the peasants as its chief ally. The victory of the democratic revolution would not place the bourgeoisie in power, but would place power in the hands of the workers and peasants: such a power was called by Lenin "the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants."

Thus Lenin established the principle of the leading role (hegemony) of the working class in carrying through the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Having marched with the whole peasantry to abolish all remnants of feudalism and autocracy and establish a democratic republic, the working class would go forward with the poorer peasants to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, eradicate capitalism and build socialism.

Thus the revolution would go forward in a series of stages, the leadership and driving force the working class, mobilising all possible allies at each stage, striking blow after blow—first against the remnants of feudalism and feudal autocracy, then against capitalism and the economic and political positions of the capitalist class. The revolution would be crowned by the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin further showed that the working class, which takes the lead in

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the struggle for democracy, establishes in the dictatorship of the proletariat a higher form of democracy than bourgeois democracy.

The first and most essential reading required for study of the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the tasks of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and on the relationship between the bourgeois and socialist revolutions is:—*The Communist Manifesto*; Lenin's *State and Revolution*; Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism*, the latter part of Chapter 3; Stalin's *On the Problems of Leninism*; and *The History of the C.P.S.U. (B)*, Chapters 3 and 7. All of these were dealt with above, in Part II. And unless the reader has made some study of these works, he will not get very far with the works dealt with below.

Marx and Engels' main strategical line in the revolutionary period 1848-50 was set forth in their *Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League*, in 1850.

As to what happened during the whole revolutionary period from 1848 to 1871 (the Paris Commune), and the conclusions which Marx and Engels drew from these events, the reader should turn to three works, *The Class Struggles in France*, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and *The Civil War in France*. In these books, which deal particularly with France, Marx and Engels analyse the whole movement of classes in the course of the bourgeois- democratic revolution, culminating in the seizure of power by the working class in the Paris Commune, when the dictatorship of the proletariat was established for the first time and where was discovered the new state form of working class power.

Supplementary to these works are Marx and Engels' Germany, Revolution and Counter- Revolution, The Peasant War in Germany, The Revolution in Spain and The Civil War in the United States.

Lenin's new line in the Russian Revolution of 1905 is set forth in his *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, as a supplement to which should be read his *Lecture on 1905*.

Lenin's *Two Tactics* is of very great importance for the student to-day, since it embodied the new line on the tasks of the working class in the democratic revolution, which was carried forward in the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, and, to-day, in the Chinese Revolution. Hence the student may well turn to this first.

In the next part, on the Great October Socialist Revolution, we shall see that Lenin showed how the task of completing the bourgeois revolution was finally solved as a by-product of the socialist revolution. In Part 9, on the National and Colonial Question, we shall see how the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the bourgeois-democratic revolution are carried forward in the theory of the national revolution in colonial countries, and in China in particular.

After the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin made a trenchant reply to those who raised an outcry that the socialist revolution violated democracy. This reply is contained above all in two works—*The Deception of the People by Slogans of Freedom and Equality*, and *The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade*. These two books constitute the most essential reading on proletarian as against bourgeois democracy.

The writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the democratic revolution are here presented under three headings:

- A. The Revolutionary Period 1848-71;
- B. The Russian Revolution of 1905;
- C. Proletarian versus Bourgeois Democracy.

It may perhaps be thought that the theory of the bourgeois revolution and of its relation to the socialist revolution is of no more than historical interest to British workers, since the bourgeois revolution took place in Britain a long time ago. It is therefore worth observing that this aspect of Marxism-Leninism is of very immediate importance for us, for at least three reasons.

1. In the period of the general crisis of capitalism, the monopoly capitalists seek to destroy the bourgeois-democratic rights established in the past. We have therefore to understand the necessity of uniting all forces to extend, defend or restore those bourgeois-democratic rights as a condition for the fight for socialism.

2. The dictatorship of the proletariat involves establishing proletarian, socialist democracy, as a higher form of democracy than bourgeois democracy. We have therefore to understand the difference between

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bourgeois and socialist democracy, in order to be able to defend and build socialist democracy; and to understand how the fight for democracy, led by the working class, is crowned by the establishment of socialist democracy, of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3. The vast revolution which has been victorious in China and is under way in the entire colonial world is in essence a *bourgeois-democratic* revolution, which has the special character of a national revolution directed against foreign imperialism. The immediate revolutionary task in the colonial countries is not immediately to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, but is to get rid of imperialism and establish national sovereignty and peoples' democratic rule. Without an understanding of the nature and tasks of this revolution we cannot properly render it support or fulfil our own tasks in the fight against imperialism.

A. THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD 1848-71

MARX AND ENGELS s Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League

This address, written in March, 1850, deals with working class strategy and tactics in the revolutionary period 1848 to 1850. It stresses that the task of the working class is:

1. To build independent working class organisation,
2. To fight against all relics of feudalism,
3. To put no trust in the new bourgeois governments,
4. To advance independent working class demands
5. And to arm the workers.

Having advanced together with the bourgeoisie to overthrow the old feudal reaction, the working class must go on to fight against the bourgeoisie for working class power. The aim is to carry on the revolution "until the proletariat has conquered state power."

Marx and Engels stress in this address the need for an independent working class party with its own firm centralised organisation and carrying on bold public activity; without such organisation the working class

movement must lose its independence and come under bourgeois influence.

The address defines the attitude of the working class to the petty-bourgeois democrats: "It must march together with them against the faction it aims at overthrowing, oppose them in everything whereby they seek to consolidate their position in their own interests."

MARX: The Class Struggles in France 1848-50; The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte; The Civil War in France

These three works by Marx, each of which consists of a collection of articles or addresses, form a series in which he analyses the revolutionary events in France from the Revolution of 1848 to the Paris Commune in 1871.

In his introduction to both *The Eighteenth Brumaire* and *The Civil War in France*, Engels points out that thanks to historical materialism Marx could grasp the character and consequences of great historical events at the time they were still in progress. These works are classical models of how Marxism analyses complicated class relations and class battles at the very time of their occurrence, so as to show the working class the correct policy.

They make not only very instructive, but very exciting reading. Each can be read separately, but they are best read as a series. Thus, *The Eighteenth Brumaire* opens with a summary of the meaning of previous events dealt with in *Class Struggles in France*.

Engels' Introductions to the *Class Struggles in France* and *The Civil War in France* contain a masterly summary of the whole series of events from 1848 to 1871. What were these events?

In February, 1848, the regime of Louis Philippe, the "Bourgeois King," set up when the Bourbons were overthrown in July 1830, was itself overthrown by a mass uprising. The regime of Louis Philippe had represented the "rule of the bankers," of the "aristocracy of finance."³⁰⁰

³⁰⁰ See Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Part 5, especially chapters 27 and 36.

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After its overthrow, as a result of mass pressure from the workers, a Republic was declared and, to begin with, all the propertied classes shared power. It was the workers who made the February 1848 Revolution, but the first act of the bourgeoisie was to disarm them. The workers resisted and were defeated in the June uprising of 1848. One by one, the classes which had made the revolution lost power: first the industrialists beat the petty-bourgeoisie in June 1849, then they themselves lost to the “aristocracy of finance” who came back in power again.

Meanwhile, taking advantage of these dissensions among the “propertied classes,” an adventurer, Louis Bonaparte, a descendent of the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, relying on the support of the masses of the oppressed peasantry, had got himself elected President of the Republic, and by a *coup d'état* in 1851 (known as the “Eighteenth Brumaire”) made himself absolute ruler. Shortly afterwards, he established himself as the Emperor Napoleon III. Thus, after disarming the workers who made the 1848 revolution, the bourgeoisie, torn by dissensions, proved unable to rule. Louis Bonaparte and a gang of adventurers seized power. But with Bonaparte's regime, a big industrial development took place in France.

The Bonapartist “Second Empire” lasted until the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. This war was provoked by the territorial ambitions of Bonaparte, who wanted to establish the French frontiers on the Rhine. He was defeated by the Prussians in 1870, his Empire fell, and a “Government of National Defence” was set up.

Meanwhile, the Parisian workers were armed for the defence of Paris. But the Government of “National Defence” was primarily concerned not to defend Paris but to disarm the workers. In January 1871, it capitulated to the Prussians. The Government retired to Versailles. Thereafter, war ensued between the Parisian workers and the Government at Versailles. In March 1871, the Paris workers set up the Paris Commune. It was eventually crushed and the workers massacred by the bourgeois government in Versailles, aided and abetted by the foreign invaders, the Prussians.

Such was the sequence of events analysed by Marx in these writings. Of particular importance in these three books are:—

1. The analysis of the progress of the revolution from 1848. The driving force of the revolution was the working class, but the revolution put the bourgeoisie in power. The bourgeoisie then turned against the workers,

who were isolated and defeated. But in this action the bourgeoisie turned against the revolution itself, deserted the revolution, and themselves proved unable to rule.

2. The biting exposure of petty-bourgeois “social democracy” contained in *The Eighteenth Brumaire*. Marx shows that these “democrats” were under the illusion that their own speeches and declamations in parliament decided events, ignoring the realities of the class struggle. This he called “parliamentary imbecility” or “parliamentary cretinism.” Marx shows concretely how the outlooks and ideas current in society reflect the position of different classes.

3. The exposure in *The Eighteenth Brumaire* of the nature of the bourgeois state, as the organ of capitalist class rule. The triumph of the bourgeois republic, said Marx, led in fact to “unlimited despotism.” He shows that all revolutions had “perfected the state power,” but that the task of the proletarian revolution must be to break it up.³⁰¹

4. The analysis of the position of the French peasantry. The peasantry, he shows in *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, provided the chief social support on which Louis Bonaparte founded his personal dictatorship. Nevertheless he points out in *The Civil War in France* that the only hope for the mass of the peasantry lay through a workers’ government. Thus Marx and Engels began to deduce the key importance of the workers winning the masses of peasants as allies.³⁰²

5. Marx’s treatment of the Franco-Prussian War in *The Civil War in France*. He shows that, to begin with, it was a just war on the side of the Prussians. But he gives a lead to the German workers to oppose the war as soon as Bismarck turned it into a war of aggression.³⁰³

6. The analysis of the Paris Commune as “the political form at last discovered to work out the economic emancipation of labour.”

³⁰¹ See Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*; Lenin, *State and Revolution*.

³⁰² See Engels. *Prefatory Note to Peasant War in Germany, Peasant Question in France and Germany*.

³⁰³ Lenin, *Socialism and War, Lecture on War*.

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The Commune was the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune, that was the dictatorship of the proletariat." So wrote Engels in his Introduction.

The Commune proved that the working class cannot "lay hold of the existing state machinery," but must "smash it" and set up its own power.³⁰⁴

Marx and Engels analysed the measures taken by the Commune, and at the same time pointed out its weaknesses and mistakes.

Marx and Engels on Revolutionary Struggles in Germany, Spain and the United States

Besides the three great works in which Marx analysed the revolutionary developments in France, 1848-71, Marx and Engels published a number of works in which the historical materialist method was applied to the study of and leadership of the struggles in the democratic revolution in other countries. Many of these studies were written in the course of Marx's journalistic activities, especially in the course of his regular contributions to the *New York Tribune*. Of these, the following are available in book form in English.

Germany, Revolution and Counter-Revolution, by Marx and Engels

This book, which covers the revolutionary events in Germany in 1851-2, consists of articles contributed at the time to the *New York Tribune*. The revolution was a democratic revolution against feudalism in Germany. The workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie were the classes ranged at the start against the Prussian Monarchy and the rulers of the other German States. In the course of the revolution the bourgeoisie, together with large sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie, went over to reaction; the peasantry became indifferent or hostile; and the working class, left almost alone to fight counterrevolution, was defeated.

The Peasant War in Germany, by Engels

³⁰⁴ See Marx, *Letters to Kugelmann* (April 1871); Lenin, *State and Revolution, In Memory of the Commune, Lessons of the Commune, Introduction to Russian edition of Marx's letters to Kugelmann*.

Written in 1850, this book deals with the great German peasant uprising of 1525. Engels' study of the class struggles in the 16th century was designed, however, to shed light on the tasks of the class struggles in the mid-19th century, when the job of finally destroying feudalism in Europe still remained to be completed. We have already referred (Part 5) to Engels' *Prefatory Note* to this book, in which he stressed the importance of building an independent working class party and of rousing the peasants as allies of the working class. "Everything in Germany will depend on whether it will be possible to support the proletarian revolution by something like a second edition of the Peasant War. Only then will everything proceed well," Marx wrote to Engels in 1856.

The Revolution in Spain, by Marx and Engels

This book covers the revolutionary events in Spain, 1854-6, and consists mainly of articles contributed at the time to the *New York Tribune*. An uprising against feudal autocracy in Spain was started in the army and was supported by the workers. The bourgeoisie and army officers deserted the revolution, and the workers were isolated and defeated. This book also contains material concerning Anarchism.

The Civil War in the United States, by Marx and Engels

This book deals with the American Civil War, 1861-5, and consists of articles from the *New York Tribune* and the *Vienna Press*, together with extracts from Marx and Engels' personal correspondence. The Civil War was essentially a further stage of the democratic revolution in the United States, begun in the War of Independence fought against England. For, as Marx and Engels show, the slave-holders and the slave power of the Southern States played a role in the United States equivalent to that of the remnants of feudalism and feudal autocracy in Europe. The revolutionary task in America was to abolish the slave power of the South. Marx and Engels therefore urged the waging of a revolutionary war, the arming of the Negroes and the freeing of the slaves. Lincoln's government at first held back from such measures, while the reactionary powers in Europe, and the British bourgeoisie in particular, sought to aid the Southern States.

But the pressure of the American working class proved of decisive importance in securing the introduction of compulsory military service, the edict freeing the slaves, and turning the war into a revolutionary war; while the actions of the British workers prevented capitalist Britain from aiding the slave-holders. The war ended in the defeat of the Southern Slave States.

B. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905

LENIN: Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution

This book, which appeared in July 1905, lays down the tactical line of the Bolsheviks in the 1905 Revolution in opposition to the line of the Mensheviks. It deals with the role of the working class in taking the lead in the bourgeois revolution and passing from the bourgeois revolution to the socialist revolution.

In order to understand this book and the tactical line of the Bolsheviks in the 1905 Revolution, the reader should consult the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)*, Chapter III, Section, 3, where the tactical differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks and the revolutionary policy of the Bolsheviks are fully explained.

The Revolution of 1905 in Russia was essentially a bourgeois democratic revolution. Its task was not to overthrow capitalist rule and establish socialism, but to smash Tsarist absolutism and establish the fullest democracy. The fulfilment of this democratic task was a necessary stage in the advance to the socialist revolution.

On the eve of the 1905 Revolution two opposed lines were put forward in the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party:—

The Bolsheviks held that the revolution must be led by the workers in alliance with the peasants. They called for an armed rising to overthrow the Tsarist Government and set up a provisional revolutionary government in which the workers would participate. The liberal bourgeoisie, said the Bolsheviks, aimed at a compromise with the Tsar at the expense of the people, and it was necessary to isolate them.

The Mensheviks, on the other hand, held that the liberal bourgeoisie must be the leader of the bourgeois revolution; that the workers should establish close relations, not with the peasantry, but with the liberal bourgeoisie; and that if it proved possible to set up a provisional revolutionary government, this must be a government of the Liberals, and the workers should not participate in it.

The fundamental tactical principles expounded by Lenin in *Two Tactics of Social Democracy* are as follows:

1. The main tactical principle which runs through the whole book is that the working class must win the leadership of the bourgeois democratic revolution. In order to carry through the revolution, the working class must find an ally, namely, the peasants, and must isolate the liberal bourgeoisie who did not aim at the overthrow of Tsarism but at a compromise.

Here Lenin advanced a new conception of the role of the working class in the bourgeois democratic revolution. In the previous history of bourgeois revolutions, it had been the bourgeoisie which played the leading part; in the new historical situation, Lenin showed that the working class must become the leading and guiding force of the bourgeois revolution

2. Lenin showed that the most effective means of overthrowing Tsarism and achieving a democratic republic was a people's uprising. The aim must be an uprising which would overthrow Tsarism and set up a provisional revolutionary government. This government would be the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. It would not yet be a socialist government, but the workers should not hesitate to participate in it. Its task would be to crush the counter-revolution and to institute in a revolutionary way such democratic measures as the eight-hour day in the towns and the redistribution of the land in the countryside.

3. Having achieved the democratic republic, the revolutionary movement would not come to a stop but the workers must then carry the revolution forward to the socialist revolution. Having overthrown autocracy and established a democratic republic in alliance with the whole of the peasantry, the working class would go forward with the mass of the

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poor peasantry³⁰⁵ to defeat the bourgeoisie and establish the proletarian dictatorship and socialism.

LENIN: Lecture on the 1905 Revolution

This lecture was delivered by Lenin to an audience of young workers at the People's House, Zurich, Switzerland, in January, 1917. In it he briefly recounts the history of the revolutionary development in Russia from 1905-1907.

He stresses the role of the mass political strike in the 1905 revolution—it was marked by the greatest strike movement ever known, in which strikes beginning on economic issues turned into political strikes against the Tsarist Government—and the formation of Soviets in the course of the mass struggle, which in some cities deposed the local authorities for a period and themselves functioned as organs of workers' power.

He goes on to point out the world significance of the 1905 Revolution as arousing a movement throughout the whole of Asia

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C. PROLETARIAN VERSUS BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

LENIN: The Deception of the People by Slogans of Freedom and Equality

This book, written in 1919, answers those who say that the soviet system violates the principles of democracy, freedom and equality. This argument was used against the soviet system at its very inception, just as it is used to-day.

Dealing with some particular questions arising from the conditions prevailing immediately after the establishment of soviet power in Russia, Lenin sums up the answer to all the arguments which claim that the soviets violate freedom and equality.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁵ See Stalin, *The Party's Three Fundamental Slogans on the Peasant Question*.

³⁰⁶ See Stalin, *On the Draft U.S.S.R. Constitution*.

“Freedom” and “democracy” are a fraud unless subordinated to the interests of the emancipation of labour from capital, he declares.

For instance, freedom of meeting is proclaimed in the capitalist democratic countries; but there is no real freedom of meeting for the workers until they have taken away from the capitalists ownership of the halls in which meetings must be held. In a socialist country, there is freedom of meeting for the workers but not for the counter-revolutionaries. To allow freedom of meeting to counter-revolutionaries in a socialist country would be a crime against the working people.

After the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, Lenin explains, the class struggle continues and assumes sharper forms, so the working class cannot allow freedom to the capitalists and their agents to carry out their struggle to restore capitalism. On the contrary, they abolish such “freedom.”

Similarly, “equality” is a fraud if it is in contradiction to the emancipation of labour from oppression by capital. Real equality means the abolition of classes.³⁰⁷ To pretend that we should make everyone “equal” in any other sense than abolishing classes is a stupid phrase. In the struggle for socialism, for example, there cannot be equality of rights between the workers and the capitalists.

Talk of freedom and equality “in general” is used as a cover for the fight against socialism. Lenin therefore put stress on the need for discipline and organisation on the part of the working class in the fight for socialism. It is harder to overcome petty-bourgeois looseness and petty-bourgeois ideas, he says, than it is to beat the big capitalists.³⁰⁸ But without overcoming this, the working class cannot win.

LENIN: The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade

This book deals with the central theme of proletarian versus bourgeois democracy and can be read as a supplement to *The State and Revolution*. It was written in 1918 in reply to Karl Kautsky who had denounced the

³⁰⁷ See Engels, *Anti-Dühring*.

³⁰⁸ See Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism*.

Soviet Government as a “dictatorship.”

Kautsky's catch-phrase of “democracy versus dictatorship” set the keynote for all subsequent anti-Soviet propaganda, and has been faithfully repeated ever since by all the Right-wing Social Democrats.

Kautsky pretended that the difference between the Social Democrats and the Bolsheviks was the difference of two “methods,” the democratic and the dictatorial. The Social Democrats stood for the “democratic” method, the Bolsheviks for the “dictatorial” method.

Replying to Kautsky, Lenin shows how false it is to speak of democracy “in general.” We must always ask: “democracy for whom?” The question at issue is not between dictatorship and democracy but between proletarian democracy and bourgeois democracy, between the rule of the working class and the rule of the bourgeoisie.

So long as classes exist, Lenin shows, there can be no “pure” democracy. Lenin exposes in detail how bourgeois democracy is in reality the rule of the capitalists and how the soviets represent the rule of the working class, that is, of the vast majority. “Proletarian democracy,” he says, “is many times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy.” He proves this by detailed references to the political system in the Soviet Union³⁰⁹ and in the bourgeois democratic countries.

Answering Kautsky's charge about dictatorial methods, Lenin shows that the rule of the working class, i.e. of the vast majority, demands the suppression of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin showed that the attempt to confine the political action of the working class within the framework of the bourgeois democratic state means betraying the cause of the working class.³¹⁰

The latter chapters of this book deal with: the first Soviet Constitution and the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly; the tactics of the working class in imperialist war; the development of the Russian Revolution from

³⁰⁹ See Lenin, *Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution, Can the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?*; Stalin, *Report to the 15th Congress C.P.S.U. (B), On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.*

³¹⁰ See Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme.*

the bourgeois democratic to the proletarian revolution, analysing the policy of the Bolsheviks and the development of the alliance between the workers and peasants.

7. THE GREAT OCTOBER³¹¹ SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

INTRODUCTION

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia marked a turning-point in world history. The working people came to power, and began to end exploitation of man by man.

The first breach was made in the chain of world imperialism. The era of proletarian revolution began. At the same time the October Revolution, liberating the oppressed nations throughout a vast state, gave a gigantic impetus to the national revolution throughout the colonial world.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was carried out under the undivided leadership of the Communist Party, which was able to rally the masses of all the exploited people behind the working class, and to isolate the compromising parties.

It marked the victory of revolutionary Marxism over reformism. It showed that the right-wing social democrats belong to the camp of defenders of capitalism, and that it is impossible to end capitalism without ending opportunism in the working class movement.

The Revolution proved that in carrying out a socialist revolution and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class must win as allies, and lead, all the exploited people, and in particular the working peasants. The dictatorship of the proletariat is therefore a class alliance between the proletariat and the working peasantry, led by the proletariat.

³¹¹ The Soviet Government carried out a reform of the old Russian calendar. The revolution took place in October according to the old style. This is why the revolution celebrated on November 7th is called the October Revolution. Similarly the overthrow of the Tsar took place in February old style, March new style.

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The victory of the October Revolution proved moreover that socialism can be built in a single country.

The Great October Socialist Revolution marked the rise of proletarian democracy, an entirely new type of state in which the working people themselves directly participate in building up their own state life from top to bottom.

It showed, finally, that when the big capitalists and landlords are routed, and the dictatorship of the proletariat is established, elements of capitalism will still remain. A fully socialist economy cannot be created at a single blow. There must follow a more or less lengthy period during which the remaining elements of capitalism are eliminated, and the victory of socialism is organised throughout the entire economy.

The works dealt with here are presented under three heads:—

- A. The character and world significance of the October Revolution.
- B. The preparation for October.
- C. After the conquest of power—War Communism, and the New Economic Policy.

The basic reading consists of the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)* Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

For the explanation of the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat the student should also refer to Foundations of Leninism (Chapters 4, 5 and 6), On the Problems of Leninism, State and Revolution, Left Wing Communism and Two Tactics of Socialist Democracy in the Democratic Revolution.

On the character and world significance of the October Revolution the student should first refer to Stalin's *The International Character of the October Revolution* and the *October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists*.

On the nature of proletarian democracy and the mass character of the new state the most important reading consists of Lenin's *Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution* and *Can the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?* which should be read in conjunction with Lenin's *Deception of the People by Slogans of Freedom and Equality*, and *Proletarian Revolution and*

Kautsky the Renegade, dealt with above in Part 6 (C) and Stalin's *Report to 15th Congress of C.P.S.U.(B)*, dealt with in Part 8 below.

On the nature of socialist state industry and the economic tasks in the transition period, the most important reading is *The Impending Catastrophe*, *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*, and *The Tax in Kind*.

These should be studied in conjunction with *The Communist Manifesto*, Chapter 2; Engels' *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Chapter 3; and the section on the internal situation of the U.S.S.R. in Stalin's *Report to the 14th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B)*.

The lessons of the Great October Socialist Revolution have been verified and carried forward in the People's Democracies in Eastern Europe which arose after World War II. On the nature of People's Democracy the reader should consult the booklet *Peoples Democracy* containing reports by Hilary Minc, G. Dimitrov and others.

The People's Democratic States in Eastern Europe fulfil the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time they have verified Lenin's statement that "the transition from capitalism to socialism will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms."

A. THE CHARACTER AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

STALIN: The International Character of the October Revolution

In this statement, made on the Tenth Anniversary of October, Stalin points out that the October Revolution signified a radical turn in world history from the old capitalist world to the new socialist world. Past revolutions had only replaced one exploiting class by another, but the aim of the October Revolution was not to substitute one form of exploitation by another, but to abolish all exploitation of man by man.³¹² Therefore, the October Revolution was a revolution of an international world order.

³¹² See *The Communist Manifesto*.

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1. It made a breach in the system of imperialism. For the first time the class of the oppressed and exploited rose to the position of ruling class. The revolution converted the instruments and means of production into public property, destroyed the old state apparatus, established the power of the working class and began to build the new socialist; system. Thus it began a new era, the era of proletarian revolutions.

2. The October Revolution emancipated all the oppressed nations of a vast state. For the first time oppressed nations rose to the position of nations really free and really equal. Hence the October Revolution also began the era of colonial revolutions being conducted in the oppressed countries of the world in alliance with the proletariat and under the leadership of the proletariat.

3. Having sowed the seed of revolution both in the centres of imperialism and in its colonial rear, the October Revolution jeopardised the very existence of world capitalist as a whole. With the October Revolution the era of the collapse of capitalism began.

4. The October Revolution was also a revolution in the minds, in the ideology of the working class. It marked a victory of Marxism over reformism, of Leninism over social democratism. It proved that "it is impossible to bring an end to capitalism without bringing an end to social democratism in the Labour Movement."

STALIN: The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists

The edge of Stalin's argument in this book, written in 1925 as the preface to a collection of articles entitled *The Road, to October*, is directed against Trotsky. It contains not only a summary of the principal lessons of October but also a devastating polemic against the Trotskyists.³¹³

What are the principal lessons which Stalin brings out in this book?

1. The dictatorship of the proletariat was established on the basis of an alliance between the working class and the masses of the working

³¹³ See Stalin, *Reports to 15th and 16th Congresses of C.P.S.U.(B)*.

peasantry, led by the working class. The dictatorship is therefore a class alliance between the proletariat and the working peasantry, led by the proletariat.

Its victory was made possible because the peasants were won to the side of the workers.³¹⁴

2. The dictatorship of the proletariat was established in the October Revolution as a result of the victory of the proletariat in one country alone, while capitalism was preserved in other countries.³¹⁵

3. The revolution was carried through under the undivided leadership of one party, the Bolshevik Party.

4. In leading the revolution, the party succeeded in isolating the compromising parties.³¹⁶

5. In leading the revolution, the party was able to transform its slogans into slogans of the masses themselves. The masses became convinced that these slogans were right through their own experience.

6. The October Revolution was the first breach in the system of imperialism, and therefore a first stage in the world revolution.

LENIN: The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution

In this article Lenin deals with the character and tasks of the October Revolution considered from the point of view of the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution and the passage from the bourgeois democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. This article therefore ties up with his analysis of the tasks of the Russian Revolution in *The Two Tactics of Social Democracy*.

Lenin shows that the October Revolution, carried through under the

³¹⁴ See Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*.

³¹⁵ See Lenin, *United States of Europe Slogan*.

³¹⁶ See Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism*; Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*.

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leadership of the working class, had consummated completely and fully the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia, i.e. it had eliminated completely and at one blow all remnants of medievalism, serfdom, feudalism. But this task of carrying through and completing the bourgeois democratic revolution was solved as a by-product of the proletarian socialist revolution.

The soviet system, he concludes, marks the rise of a new type of democracy, i.e. proletarian democracy or the dictatorship of the proletariat, and it ushers in a new era in world history, the rule of a new class.

The important task which remained after the victory of the October Revolution was that of economic construction, to lay the economic foundations of a new socialist edifice. This meant advancing from small peasant production to socialism.

LENIN: Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

This article deals with the problems of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a transition period between capitalism and communism. It was written in 1919, and explains that between capitalism and communism there lies a transition period which is a period of struggle between communism, which is rising and growing, and capitalism which has been defeated but not destroyed. This is the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat.³¹⁷

Remnants of capitalism survive throughout this whole period. There are present in it, therefore, three quite distinct and basic forms of social economy:

1. Capitalism;
2. Petty commodity production which continually breeds capitalism; and
3. Socialism.

And the basic class forces in operation are therefore the bourgeoisie,

³¹⁷ See Marx, *Critique of Gotha Programme*; Lenin, *State and Revolution*.

the petty-bourgeoisie including the peasants, and the working class.

Lenin points out that the October Revolution in Russia achieved at one blow the expropriation of the big landowners and capitalists. At one blow, therefore, the working people were emancipated from age-old oppression. But when the big landowners and capitalists were defeated, petty commodity production and remnants of capitalism still remained.³¹⁸

This ties up with a point which Lenin had already stressed in his report *On the Party Programme* at the 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party in March 1919. He there pointed out that monopoly capitalism and imperialism is not an entirely new social organisation which supplants the old capitalism, but that the monopolies grow up from and impose themselves upon the system of commodity production and exchange and free competition. If the big capitalists and bankers are eliminated, the old capitalism rooted in the system of: commodity production and exchange still remains. Such was the position in Russia after the defeat of the big capitalists and bankers by the October Revolution.

Having defeated the big bourgeoisie and the landowners, therefore, the task still remained to advance to the abolition of classes.

This could only be a long process involving the reconstruction of the whole national economy and the transition from individual petty commodity production to large-scale socialist enterprise.

Classes remain and will remain in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The class struggle does not die away under the dictatorship of the proletariat, but assumes different forms.

B. THE PREPARATION FOR OCTOBER:

March—November, 1917

Lenin made many speeches and wrote many articles and pamphlets in the period of preparation and carrying out of the Great October Socialist Revolution. A selection of these is published in the two-volume edition of *Lenin's Selected Works (The Essentials of Lenin)* Vol. II, and in the

³¹⁸ See Lenin, *Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government, Left-Wing Communism*.

12-volume edition, Vol. VI. We cannot deal with all these writings here, but only with a few of the most important. For an explanation of this whole period the reader should consult the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)*., Chapter VI, Section 5 and Chapter VII, Sections 1- 6.

LENIN: Letters from Afar

These letters were written from abroad immediately after the March Revolution of 1917. In that revolution the Tsarist Autocracy was overthrown by a mass uprising, and soviets were set up. In the soviets the compromising parties, the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, obtained a majority and approved the formation of a provisional government of representatives of the capitalists and landowners.

In *Letters from Afar* Lenin shows that three fundamental political forces were operating in the March Revolution:

1. The Tsarist monarchy,
2. The capitalists and landowners, with the petty-bourgeoisie following in their wake,
3. The soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies.

After the fall of the Tsarist monarchy the capitalist landowners and bourgeoisie rose to power; but alongside their power was another, that of the workers and poor peasants represented by the soviets. The soviets, said Lenin, were a workers' government in embryo. A condition of dual power existed.

The working people wanted peace, land, bread and freedom, but the capitalist government could never give them this. The workers' path was to wrest power from the landowners and capitalists. For this they had two allies: (a) the small peasants and semi-proletarian masses generally, (b) the working classes in the warring countries. Hand in hand with these allies they must win a democratic republic and the victory of the peasants over the landowners, and then go on to win socialism.³¹⁹

³¹⁹ See Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy*.

LENIN: Two Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution; The April Theses; The April Conference

On arrival in Russia on April 5, 1917, Lenin presented his famous April Theses, in which he summed up the tasks of the revolution. The April Theses were ten in number and may be summarised as follows:

1. It is impossible to end the war by a just democratic peace without the overthrow of capitalism.
2. There is taking place a transition from the first stage of the revolution, which placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie, to the second stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and poor peasants.
3. No support for the Provisional Government.
4. The Bolsheviks must work for a majority in the soviets and to transfer state power to the soviets.
5. Not a parliamentary, but a soviet republic.
6. Confiscation of landed estates and nationalisation of the land.
7. A single national bank controlled by the soviets.
8. Control of all production and distribution by the soviets.
9. A party congress.
10. A new International.

In his pamphlet *The Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution*, published in April 1917, Lenin explained in a popular form the fundamental ideas of the April Theses. The bourgeoisie, he says, has developed in history two methods of rule, (a) by violence and (b) by deception. The Provisional Government is at present using the second method, and the immediate task is to develop a campaign of patient explanation of the real

situation to the people.

In discussing the future transfer of power to the soviets and the soviet republic, Lenin declares that what is required is a new type of state, “a state of the Paris Commune type,” in which the masses directly participate in the “democratic up-building of their own state life from top to bottom.”

Lenin calls for an agrarian programme in the interest of the peasants, the nationalisation of the land and the confiscation of estates. The peasants, he says, must be urged to confiscate the landlords' lands on their own initiative. All the banks must be amalgamated into one national bank under the control of the soviets, and the capitalist trusts and combines must be nationalised.

In his speeches at the April Conference of the Bolsheviks, which took place at the end of April (or beginning of May new style) and which are published in the volume *The April Conference*, Lenin again works over the line of the April Theses.

LENIN: The Impending Catastrophe

This pamphlet (which is sometimes called *The Threatening Catastrophe*) was written in September 1917, at a time when the military and economic situation of Russia had already rapidly worsened under the rule of the Provisional Government, which had turned to a policy of open repression. It is of fundamental importance in that it deals with nationalisation measures as a means of combating economic chaos and as a step to socialism.

To meet the catastrophic economic situation Lenin calls for the nationalisation of the banks and of big industrial concerns.

Such nationalisation, he declares, will only be effective if it is carried out by a workers' government. And nationalisation measures, carried out by a workers' government, are *socialist* measures.

State monopoly capitalism, such as is created by capitalist nationalisation, is the fullest material preparation for socialism. There is no intermediate stage. If the workers take over, then nationalised banks

and industries are socialist banks and industries.³²⁰

Calling for these steps to be taken by a workers' government, Lenin declares that Russia must in the future either overtake and surpass the advanced capitalist countries or perish.

LENIN: Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?

This pamphlet was written on the eve of October, when the Bolsheviks had already won a majority in the soviets. It answers those who said that the Bolsheviks could not form a government.

It is of great importance in bringing out what workers' power really is, on what it is based and how it has to act.³²¹

Lenin stresses that the workers must destroy everything oppressive in the old state apparatus. Millions of working people must be drawn into the administration of the state.

The main immediate tasks would be to give land to the peasants, liberate the oppressed nations, propose a just peace to end the imperialist war, and establish workers' control over the whole of production and distribution as well as to take over the entire banking system.³²²

LENIN: Marxism and Insurrection

In a letter to the Central Committee at the end of September 1917, Lenin deals with the problems of organising an insurrection. He lays down

³²⁰ See Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*; Lenin, *Left-Wing Childishness and Petty-Bourgeois Mentality*; Stalin, *Report to 14th Congress C.P.S.U. (B)*.

³²¹ See Marx, *Critique of Gotha Programme*, *Civil War in France*; Lenin, *State and Revolution*, *Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade*, *Deception of the People*, *Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*, Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, *On the Problems of Leninism*, *Report to 15th Congress C.P.S.U. (B)*.

³²² See *Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*.

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three necessary conditions:

1. An insurrection must depend, not on a conspiracy nor yet on a party, but on the advanced class;
2. It must constitute a revolutionary rising of the people;
3. It must be timed to occur when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is greatest, and when the wavering among the enemy and among weak and indecisive friends of the revolution is also greatest.

In conjunction with this letter should be read Lenin's article *The Lessons of the Moscow Uprising*, written in 1906 and dealing with the lessons of the defeat of the uprising in Moscow in December 1905. Lenin concludes that for a successful uprising it is necessary:

1. To carry on the widest agitation among the masses;
2. To conduct a real fight to win over the troops;
3. To take the offensive;
4. To employ tactics of guerrilla warfare.

On the latter point should be read Lenin's article *Partisan Warfare*, also written in 1906.

C. AFTER THE CONQUEST OF POWER—WAR COMMUNISM AND THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

A selection of Lenin's articles and speeches in this period (which included *Kautsky the Renegade* and *Left-Wing Communism*), is contained in Vol. II of the two-volume edition of *Lenin's Selected Works*, and in Vols. VIII and IX of the twelve-volume edition. For an explanation of this whole period the student should consult *The History of the C.P.S.U.(B)*, Chapter VII, Sections 7 and 8, and Chapters VIII and IX.

LENIN: Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government

This was written in April 1918, soon after the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace. Lenin points out that having expropriated the big

capitalists, the workers must learn how to organise socialist production and administer society.

Socialism could not be introduced at a single blow, and many elements of the old society remained. It was necessary to introduce state regulation of them. The immediate task was to raise labour productivity, secure the better organisation of labour, introduce strict and universal accounting and control of the whole of production and distribution.

This point was taken up a month later in “Left-Wing” *Childishness and Petty-Bourgeois .Mentality*, where, after stressing how much the Russian workers needed the “respite” of the Brest peace, Lenin calls for the development of state capitalism as a means of combating the profiteering of private capitalism. When state power is in the workers’ hands, state capitalism, i.e. state regulation of capitalist production and trade, leads straight to socialism³²³

Dealing with the question of “personal dictatorship,” Lenin says that discipline and unity of will can only be realised by vesting authority in individuals. At the same time, the democratic organisations of the soviets must be strengthened. The soviets are organisations of the people, who must participate more and more in their work.

Lenin concludes by condemning all petty-bourgeois moods of panic and alarm. “Fits of hysteria are of no use to us. What we need is the steady march of the iron battalions of the proletariat.”

The Civil War and Intervention

The respite gained by the Brest peace did not last long. The Soviet Government had soon to face the civil war and war of intervention. In his writings of this period Lenin stressed above all the following:

1. The carrying through of the slogan “Everything for the front!”;
2. Building an alliance of the working class with the middle peasants;
3. Mobilising millions of workers and peasants against profiteers and

³²³ See Lenin, *The Impending Catastrophe; Engels, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.

speculators;

4. Strict revolutionary discipline;

5. Selfless work of socialist construction.

In this connection, Lenin's article *A Great Beginning* dealt with the tasks of the organisation of "subotniks," i.e. the voluntary organisation of spare-time work. He saw in the subotniks the beginnings of the new communist attitude to labour. This article contains Lenin's scientific definition of classes:

"Classes are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour, and consequently by the dimensions of and method of acquiring the share of social wealth of which they dispose."

After the military defeat of the White Guards and Interventionists, counter-revolution did not give up the struggle. Defeated in open warfare, they began to seek means to overthrow the working people's power from within. Here Lenin's *Draft Resolutions for the 10th Party Congress* (March, 1921) are of very great importance.³²⁴ He points out that the defeated bourgeoisie inevitably takes advantage of factions within the working-class party, by supporting "left" factions and trying to secure the transfer of power to such groups, as a means towards the subsequent complete victory of the counter-revolution.

These formulations by Lenin need to be studied in the light of the subsequent tactics of the reactionaries on an international scale, especially their support of Titoism to-day.

The New Economic Policy

For a general account of the New Economic Policy the reader should consult the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)*, Chapter 9.

Lenin summed up the nature and significance of the N.E.P. in his *Report on the Tactics of the Russian Communist Party* presented to the 3rd

³²⁴ See *History of C.P.S.U.(B)*, Chapter 9.

Congress of the Communist International in June 1921. After dealing with the international position of the new soviet republic, he points to the crucial importance of establishing a firm alliance between the workers and the peasants of Russia. It was urgently necessary to improve the conditions of the peasants and increase their productive forces, and for this purpose the former surplus appropriations system was replaced by a tax in kind. This would give the peasant an economic incentive, but it meant freedom to trade and so freedom for a certain development of capitalism. There was no need to be afraid of this, however, so long as banks, transport and large-scale industry remained in the hands of the workers' state. A certain development of capitalism, regulated and controlled by the workers' state, was advantageous, since it would hasten the immediate revival of peasant farming. This task was to develop socialist industry, as a result of which it would become possible to supply the peasants with the requirements necessary to advance by gradual stages to large-scale collectivised and mechanised agriculture.

Lenin's article *The Tax in Kind*, published in May 1921, is likewise of fundamental importance in presenting the New Economic Policy. (This article is given the title *The Food Tax* in Vol. 9 of the 12-volume *Selected Works*.) After explaining the foundations of N.E.P., Lenin stressed that it was impossible to create socialism all at one blow. Small commodity production and private trade must remain in being and even be encouraged to grow for a time. But with state power in the hands of the workers, the task was to regulate and direct such capitalist production and trade. State control, supervision and accounting were of paramount importance.³²⁵

The principles of N.E.P. were further explained by Lenin in two speeches in October 1921.

In his speech on *The New Economic Policy and the Tasks of the Political Education Departments* Lenin described N.E.P. as a strategic retreat, allowing individual peasant production to develop together with a certain revival of capitalism. It posed the fundamental question—Who will win, capitalism or the Soviet State? The task was to win the mass of the peasantry to follow the working class, and to “keep the bridle on the

³²⁵ See Lenin, *Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*.

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capitalists,” making their activities subordinate to the state and of service to the state.

In his speech on *The New Economic Policy* to a Moscow District Party Conference, Lenin said that while in the period of war communism the attempt was made to take the fortress of capitalism by assault, it was necessary to retire a little so as to gather strength to resume the offensive.

A year later, in the *Political Report of the Central Committee to the 11th Party Congress* in March 1922, Lenin stressed that the retreat had already ended and that the task was to regroup the forces for a new offensive against capitalism. The main task of N.E.P. was to establish a bond between the individual economy of the peasants and the socialist economy of the nationalised industries. To strengthen this bond it was above all necessary for communists to learn how to conduct business and trade.

In the opening sections of this report he dealt with relations between Soviet Russia and the capitalist countries, stressing that they wanted to develop peaceful trade relations with the capitalist world, and would succeed in doing so.

LENIN: On Cooperation

This article, published in *Pravda*, 1923, deals with co-operation as a vital factor for organising millions of small producers to take part in building socialism.

The schemes of early co-operators for building the “Co-operative Commonwealth” were utopian, because they dreamed of transforming capitalism into socialism simply by expanding the co-operatives. Socialism cannot be established without class struggle and the conquest of power. But when power is in the hands of the workers, then the cooperatives do become a vital factor in building socialism.

LENIN: The Role and Functions of the Trade Unions under N.E.P.

This article, published in January 1922, sums up Lenin's teachings about the role of the trade unions in the period of the New Economic

Policy.

The trade unions are mass organisations of the working class, uniting party and non-party workers, whose task is to protect the interests of the working people and to help raise their standard of living.

Trade union membership must be voluntary and members must not be required to subscribe to any political views. All that is required is that members should understand comradely discipline and the necessity of uniting the workers' forces to protect the interests of the working people and to assist the working people's government.

The trade unions do not participate in management, but they do train and nominate workers for managerial positions, assist the planning organisations, and negotiate wage scales.

In socialist enterprises the trade unions must work to secure agreed settlement of any disputes between workers and management, effectively protecting the interests of the masses of the workers in all respects.

The student should also consult Lenin's speeches *The Trade Unions* and *Once Again on the Trade Unions* published in Vol. IX of the 12-volume Selected Works. It may be noted that *Once Again on the Trade Unions* contains most valuable material about the Marxist dialectical method.

LENIN: The Tasks of the Youth Leagues

This speech, delivered at the Young Communist League Congress in 1920, contains Lenin's account of communist ethics. Communist ethics is entirely subordinate to the working-class struggle, and it serves the purpose of helping human society to rise to a higher level and to get rid of the exploitation of labour.³²⁶

Lenin stressed that the task of building communism belonged to the new generation, and that the job of the young Communists was to learn how to build communism.

This means much more than simply "learning communism" out of books. Learning must be combined with practical tasks.

³²⁶ See Engels, *Anti-Dühring*.

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But it also means that the youth must learn to assimilate the knowledge established in past society. Communism arose out of the sum of human knowledge. Marx took his stand on the firm foundation of knowledge acquired in capitalist and pre-capitalist society, fully assimilated all that earlier science had produced and critically reshaped it. Only by knowledge of the culture created by the whole development of mankind, and by reshaping this culture, can we build communist culture.

8. THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

INTRODUCTION

The building of a socialist society in the U.S.S.R. was in the main completed by 1936, when this achievement was given legislative form in the Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

All exploitation of man by man was abolished.

The last exploiting class was eliminated, and there remained two friendly classes of Soviet society, the workers and peasants.

A great socialist industry had been built, and the U.S.S.R. transformed from a backward agrarian country into an advanced industrial country.

Socialist large-scale collective farms had been established, making use of modern agricultural machinery and science.

The material and cultural standards of the workers and peasants had risen and continued to rise. New people had come into being, a new working class which had never known exploitation, a new collective farm peasantry, a new socialist intelligentsia.

With the completion of the edifice of socialist society there began the transition from socialism to communism in the U.S.S.R.

The U.S.S.R. became a great world power, having defeated the efforts of both external and internal enemies to prevent the building of socialism. The U.S.S.R. adopted and adopts a consistent policy of peace.

The basic reading on the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is *The History of the C.P.S.U.(B)*, Chapters 9, 10, 11 and 12. And next the student should turn to Stalin's *Report on the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.*

In this part there are presented some of the principal works of Stalin on the building of socialism:

A. His reports to Party Congresses,

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B. His various articles and speeches included in the volume *Problems of Leninism*.

The latter are here classified according as they deal with:—

1. The alliance of the workers and peasants.
2. The Right danger and Trotskyism.
3. The Socialist offensive.
4. Socialist labour.

Out of all this material the new reader is advised to turn *first* to the following:—

Speech at the First All Union Conference of Collective Farm Shock Workers, Address to Graduates from the Red Army Academy, Speech at the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites, and the Reports to the 17th and 18th Party Congresses.

On the Soviet peace policy the student should turn to the sections on international relations in Stalin's Congress Reports. And in this connection reference should be made also to Lenin's *Report to the 11th Congress*.

Of fundamental importance in all these writings of Stalin is the application of the dialectical method:—taking into account the given stage of development and determining policy accordingly, and insistence on the role of criticism and self-criticism.

A. STALIN'S REPORTS TO PARTY CONGRESSES

STALIN: **Report to 14th Congress, C.P.S.U.(B) (1925)**

Report to 15th Congress, C.P.S.U.(B) (1927)

Report to 16th Congress, C.P.S.U.(B) (1930)

Report to 17th Congress, C.P.S.U.(B) (1934)

Report to 18th Congress, C.P.S.U.(B) (1939)

Tremendous material for study is contained in these Reports, which should be read in conjunction with Chapters 9 - 12 of the *History of the*

C.P.S.U.(B). In them we can follow right through the whole Stalinist policy of building socialism in the U.S.S.R. Besides this, the Reports unfold the development of the general crisis of capitalism in the period up to the second World War. They expound Soviet foreign policy. And they contain material of fundamental importance developing Marxist-Leninist teachings about the Party

Each of the five Reports is divided into three parts: (1) The International Situation; (2) The Internal Affairs of the U.S.S.R.; (3) The Party.

What are the chief contents of the reports, under each of these headings?

1. *The International Situation*

The period 1925-39, covered by the five Congresses, opened with the dying down of the revolutionary wave which followed the 1914-18 war and with the partial stabilisation of capitalism. It saw the beginning of the world economic crisis in 1929, Japan's attack on Manchuria, Italian fascism's aggression in Abyssinia, Hitler's rise to power, the fascist aggression in Spain, the great intensification of the danger of war and fascism.

In the Reports, Stalin follows closely the development of international relations and elaborates the firm peace policy of the Soviet Union.

The General Crisis of Capitalism

In the *14th Congress Report* he gives a detailed analysis of what was meant by the "stabilisation of capitalism," and he shows that this "stabilisation" was insecure and was bound to lead in the near future to renewed crisis, fraught with the danger of new wars.

In this Report, and again at the *15th Congress*, Stalin demonstrates that the capitalist world was torn by insoluble contradictions—between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; between the imperialists and the colonial peoples; between the imperialists themselves; and between the capitalist world and the land of the Soviets.

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At the 15th Congress, and more explicitly at the 16th Congress he explains that with the First World War and the Russian Revolution capitalism had entered into a phase of *general crisis*. The general crisis of capitalism, which began during the period of the imperialist war, is, he says, undermining the very foundations of capitalism. The principal features of the *general crisis* are:

(a) Capitalism no longer represents the sole and all-embracing system of world economy; side by side with capitalism there exists the socialist system.

(b) The authority of imperialism has been undermined in the colonial and dependent countries, and it is no longer able to order affairs as of old in these countries.

(c) In the colonial and dependent countries there has appeared their own young capitalism, which competes in the markets with the old capitalist countries, sharpening and complicating the struggle for markets.

(d) In the capitalist countries there exists chronic under-employment of productive resources and permanent unemployment.

Peaceful Coexistence of Socialism and Capitalism

He affirms that the basis of Soviet foreign policy is to preserve peace and establish friendly diplomatic and trade relations with all countries.

At both the 14th and 15th Congresses he emphatically asserts that Soviet policy is based on the maintenance of peaceful coexistence between capitalist and socialist countries.

“Our relations with the capitalist countries are based on the assumption that the coexistence of two opposite systems is possible. Practice has fully confirmed this.”

(15th Congress)

Nature and Causes of Capitalist Crisis

At the 16th Congress, meeting in 1930, when the capitalist world was already plunged into new world economic crisis, Stalin lays bare the character of the crisis as a crisis of overproduction, and clearly states its

nature and causes. In this Congress Report the reader will find a definition, classic in its depth and simplicity, of the nature and causes of capitalist economic crisis.³²⁷

Stalin then goes on to analyse in detail the special circumstances which made the capitalist crisis which broke out in 1929 a world crisis of exceptional depth and severity. He shows how it intensified all the contradictions of capitalism, and inevitably led to the attempt to solve the contradictions by organising new armed assaults against the U.S.S.R.

Soviet Union's Consistent Peace Policy

In face of this situation, Stalin reaffirms the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union.

“Our policy is a policy of peace and of strengthening trading relations with all countries.... We do not want a single foot of foreign territory, but we shall not give up a single inch of our own territory either to anyone. That is our foreign policy.”

Four years later, at the 17th Congress, he analysed the further development of the economic crisis and of the war danger, and again concluded:

“Our foreign policy is clear. It is a policy of preserving peace and strengthening commercial relations with all countries. The U.S.S.R. does not think of threatening anybody, let alone attacking anybody. We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer blow for blow against the instigators of war. Those who want peace and are striving for peaceful intercourse with us will always receive our support, and those who try to attack our country will receive a stunning rebuff to teach them not to poke their pig's snout into our Soviet garden.”

With regard to the relations of the Soviet Union with particular

³²⁷ See Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*, Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.

capitalist countries, Stalin declares:

“Our orientation in the past and our orientation at the present time is towards the U.S.S.R. and towards the U.S.S.R. alone, and if the interests of the U.S.S.R. demand rapprochement with this or that country which is not interested in disturbing peace, we shall take this step without hesitation.”

Early in 1939, at the 18th Congress, Stalin showed that a bloc of three aggressor states, Germany, Italy and Japan, had been formed, and that a new imperialist war for the re-division of the world had already begun. Yet in face of fascist aggression, the non-aggressor states, headed by Britain, France and the U.S.A., were adopting a policy of non-intervention and making concession after concession to the aggressors. Their aim was to try to turn the aggressors against the U.S.S.R. But Stalin warned that this “big and dangerous political game” would “end in a serious fiasco for them.”

As we know, this “fiasco” came to pass soon afterwards. The study of the sections of these Reports dealing with international affairs is essential for understanding the nature of the general crisis of capitalism and of the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

2. Internal Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

The period covered by the five Congress Reports was the period of the successful construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. While the capitalist world plunged into crisis, miracles of peaceful socialist construction were carried out in the Soviet Union.

Socialist Industrialisation

The 14th Congress, held in 1925, takes us back to the period when the Soviet people had only barely restored the immense damage done by the war of intervention, when agricultural production was still organised on a backward individual peasant basis, and when the Soviet Union still possessed very little heavy industry.

The task which Stalin posed was the task of socialist industrialisation—to expand socialist industry and to build adequate

reserves³²⁸ so as to make the U.S.S.R. a self-reliant, independent socialist country.

In the Congress Reports we can see how, in posing this task, Stalin and the Party fought against and routed the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Bukharin opposition.

In presenting the task of socialist industrialisation, Stalin shows how the share of state socialist industry in the national economy must be made to grow from year to year. At the same time, at both the 14th and 15th Congresses, he deals at length with the task of strengthening the alliance of the workers and peasants, and at the 15th Congress³²⁹ he already outlines the task of building collective farm agriculture.

The task of building socialist industry and agriculture entails, he says, the effort continually to improve the material conditions of the working people, and to strengthen the Soviet State, as the state of the working people.

“Wherein lies the strength of our State apparatus?... In that it links the State power with the millions of workers and peasants through the Soviets.... In that the State apparatus does not set up a barrier between itself and the vast masses of the people but merges with them through an incredible number of mass organisations....”

In the 14th Congress Report we should also note a very important passage in which Stalin points out the difference between state *socialist* industry and *state capitalism*.

In state capitalist enterprises, he says, “there are two classes” and “production is carried on for the profit of the capitalist.” But Soviet state enterprises, on the other hand, are socialist enterprises. “Why? Because in them are represented not two classes but one class, the working class,

³²⁸ See Lenin, *The Impending Catastrophe, Immediate Tasks of Soviet Government*; Stalin, *Address to Graduates of Red Army Academies*.

³²⁹ See Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*. Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*.

which through its state owns the instruments and means of production and is not exploited.”

This passage sums up the difference between socialist and capitalist nationalisation of industry.³³⁰

The Victory of Socialism

At the 16th Congress in 1930, when the First Five Year Plan was already in its third year, Stalin called for a “socialist offensive along the whole front,” in order once and for all to eliminate the remains of capitalism in the U.S.S.R.³³¹ Just as the Reports at the 14th and 15th Congresses dealt devastating blows against the Trotskyists, so the 16th Congress dealt a devastating blow against the Rights.

By 1934, at the 17th Congress, Stalin could point out that a radical transformation of the U.S.S.R. had been achieved:³³² from an agrarian into an industrial country; from small-scale individual agriculture to collective large-scale mechanised agriculture; from an uncultured country into a cultured country. Capitalist economy had been liquidated. Individual peasant economy occupied a secondary position as compared with socialist collective farming. Socialism had achieved unchallenged predominance and had become the sole commanding force of the national economy. All exploitation of man by man had ended. Unemployment was a thing of the past. Socialist trade was expanding and standards of life were rising.

In 1939, at the 18th Congress, Stalin could say that the socialist reconstruction of the whole of industry and agriculture on the basis of modern technique was completed.³³³ The U.S.S.R. had become technically the most advanced country in the world. Stalin pointed to the new rise in the material and cultural standards of the people, the abolition of all antagonistic classes, and the strengthening of the moral and political unity of the Soviet people.

³³⁰ See Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*; Lenin, *The Impending Catastrophe, Left-Wing Childishness and Petty-Bourgeois Mentality*.

³³¹ See Stalin, *A Year of Great Change, Problems of Agrarian Policy, The Policy of Eliminating the Kulaks as a Class*.

³³² See Stalin, *The Results of the First Five-Year Plan*.

³³³ See Stalin, *On the Draft Constitution of U.S.S.R.*

Dealing with the future tasks of socialist construction, he pointed out, however, that the U.S.S.R. still lagged behind the advanced capitalist countries economically, i.e. in output per head of population. The long-term task was to outstrip the capitalist countries also in this respect.

3. *The Party*

A number of questions concerning the strengthening of the party, its policy and organisation, the struggle against right and “left” deviations, and fundamental questions of Marxist theory are dealt with in the sections of the Congress Reports devoted to the party.

The Party and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

At the 14th Congress Stalin emphasised the role of the party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The party, he says, is not the state, but is the *guiding* force in the state. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not exercised by the party, but is exercised under the party’s guidance and is not possible without the party. The party does not dictate, but it leads.

Defects in Party Work

At the 15th Congress he sharply called attention to certain defects in party work. (a) “Family methods” of settling questions, in place of open criticism and self-criticism. (b) Administrative methods in party work instead of methods of persuasion. (c) Working without political perspective.

The Rout of Trotskyism

The 15th Congress was a Congress of sharp struggle against the Trotskyist opposition, and in his Report Stalin summarised in detail the main questions on which Trotskyism opposed the party.³³⁴

After the utter rout of the Trotskyists which followed, Stalin very concisely summed up at the 16th Congress the essence of the Trotskyist “platform.” The Trotskyists denied the possibility of building socialism in

³³⁴ See Stalin, *On the Problems of Leninism*.

the Soviet Union, they denied that the peasants could be drawn into socialist construction, and they demanded³³⁵ freedom for factional anti-party groupings within the Communist Party.

The Rout of the Right Deviation

The 16th Congress was a Congress of struggle against the right deviation. Bukharin and the other right oppositionists, said Stalin, were putting forward the theory that the class struggle was peacefully dying out, and that it was not necessary to take the offensive against the remaining capitalist elements in order to build socialism.³³⁶

Both the right and the “left” deviations, Stalin emphasised, represented the pressure of hostile classes. He likewise dealt with hostile influences which were manifesting themselves on the national question.³³⁷ What was not known at that time, but was revealed in the trials which subsequently took place, was that the leaders of all these right, “left” and nationalist tendencies were working in close and secret concert with foreign imperialists, for the purpose of securing the destruction of the soviet system and the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. Their various “platforms” were not platforms of principle, not genuine expressions of policy, but were put forward by an unprincipled gang of spies and adventurers, agents of foreign imperialism.³³⁸ In a report to the Central Committee in 1937 Stalin therefore emphasised that the Rights and Trotskyists in no sense represented any political tendency within the working class and socialist movement, but were a gang of enemy agents and criminals. And he called for the greatest vigilance in combating such agencies.

Party Leadership

At the 16th Congress Stalin laid down conditions for correct party

³³⁵ See Stalin, *The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists*.

³³⁶ See Lenin, *On the Party Programme, Report to 18th Congress of R.C.P.*; Stalin, *The Right Danger in the C.P.S.U., The Right Deviation in the C.P.S.U.*

³³⁷ See Stalin, *Theses and Report on National Factors, Foundations of Leninism*.

³³⁸ See Lenin, *Draft Resolutions for 10th Party Congress*.

leadership, namely: (a) a correct line, understood by and supported by the masses, (b) a day-to-day check up on the carrying out of the line and day-to-day direction of its application, (c) consistent struggle against deviations from the general line, and against any conciliatory attitude towards such deviations.

At the 17th Congress in 1934 Stalin could point out that the fight against both “left” and right opposition groupings was ended, although traces of their influence still remained. Asked which was the “main danger,” the right or the “left” danger, he replied that the main danger is always the one which we are not fighting against.

Organisation and Cadres Policy

At the 17th and 18th Congresses, Stalin devoted particular attention to questions of strengthening the party organisation and the party cadres.

At the 17th Congress he underlined the need for organising the work, securing the fulfilment of decisions. “After the correct political line has been given, the organisational work decides everything. The main thing in organisational work is the selection of people and supervision of the fulfilment of decisions.”

Following up these points at the 18th Congress, Stalin stressed the importance of the selection of cadres, of fostering and helping them in every way, of promoting them, of attending to their Marxist education.³³⁹ It was necessary, he stressed, to help cadres in all branches of work without exception to become versed in the Marxist-Leninist science of society.

Theory of the Socialist State

In the concluding section of his *Report to the 18th Congress*, Stalin made a contribution of fundamental importance to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state.

Whereas Marx and Engels had stated that when exploiting classes were abolished and socialism was established the state would begin to “wither

³³⁹ See Stalin, *Address to Graduates of Red Army Academies*.

away,”³⁴⁰ the experience of building socialism in the U.S.S.R. proved that this conclusion must be modified. The socialist state must remain so long as socialist countries are surrounded by a capitalist world. The state would wither away only after the victory of socialism on a world scale. But while the punitive organs of the old state had been directed against the people inside the country, the task of the socialist state inside the socialist country was one of “peaceful economic organisation and cultural education,” and its punitive organs were directed “to the outside against external enemies.”

The New Soviet Intelligentsia

Stalin also dealt with the question of the Soviet intelligentsia, pointing out that whereas in the past the intelligentsia had been regarded with a certain amount of mistrust, in Soviet conditions there had arisen “a new Soviet intelligentsia intimately bound up with the people and for the most part ready to serve them faithfully and loyally.”³⁴¹

Lessons of the Victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

Stalin concluded his *18th Congress Report* by pointing out that the U.S.S.R. had proved that the working class was fully capable of building socialism.

B. REPORTS AND ARTICLES FROM STALIN'S “PROBLEMS OF LENINISM”

STALIN: Problems of Leninism

This book, the earlier editions of which were entitled simply *Leninism*, is a collection of important articles and speeches by Stalin in the period 1924 to 1939. Part of its contents have been dealt with elsewhere. Here we deal in chronological order and under various headings with the remaining material. Much of it overlaps with the Party Congress Reports, and all should be read in the light of the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)*, Chapters 10, 11 and 12.

1. *The Alliance with the Peasants*

The Party's Three Fundamental Slogans on the Peasant Problem (1927)

The Slogan of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Poor Peasantry (1927)

³⁴⁰ See Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*; Lenin, *State and Revolution*.

³⁴¹ See Stalin, *On the U.S.S.R. Draft Constitution*.

These two articles, which take the form of replies to comrades' questions, elaborate and explain the three distinct stages of the alliance of the working class and peasants during the course of the Russian Revolution.³⁴²

On the Grain Front (1928)

Lenin and the Question of the Middle Peasant (1928)

These further develop the principles of the alliance with the middle peasants.

2. The Right Danger and Trotskyism

The Right Danger in the C.P.S.U.(B), (1928)

In this speech at a meeting of the Central Committee, Stalin defines the essence of the right deviation. In capitalist conditions it is a tendency to depart from the revolutionary line of Marxism in the direction of social democracy. In soviet conditions it is a tendency towards bourgeois ideology. Stalin demonstrates that the right danger was rooted in the existing social and economic conditions of the country at the time when small-scale commodity³⁴³ production still flourished and provided the soil for a revival of capitalism.

The Right Deviation in the C.P.S.U.(B), (1929)

In this further Report to the Central Committee Stalin exposed the essence of the right policy of Bukharin and his group. The rights said that the remaining capitalist elements in the U.S.S.R. would peacefully "grow into socialism." Hence they said the class struggle was dying out and denied the necessity for an offensive against remaining capitalist elements. This policy would have meant demoralising socialist construction and surrendering socialist positions to the capitalists.

Concerning the History of Bolshevism, (1931)

This is a letter from Stalin to the editors of a Soviet journal protesting

³⁴² See Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy*; Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism, Report to 14th Congress*.

³⁴³ See Stalin: *Report to 16th Congress*; Lenin, *On the Party Programme*.

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against their having printed a “discussion article” by a certain Slutsky, falsifying the attitude of Lenin and the Bolsheviks to German Social Democracy. It is a classic formulation of the Bolshevik attitude towards “liberalism,” especially liberalism in relation to Trotskyism.

Stalin declares that it is “rotten liberalism” to enter into theoretical “discussions” of enemy ideas, in a way that allowed the question to be raised of altering the “axioms of Bolshevism” as a result of such discussion.

3. *The Socialist Offensive*

A Year of Great Change, (1929)

This article, published in *Pravda* on the 12th Anniversary of the October Revolution, summarises the decisive advances made in the first year of the First Five-Year Plan. Stalin summarises the achievements under three headings:

1. Achievements in raising the productivity of labour. He notes the great rise in labour enthusiasm and creative initiative made possible thanks to self-criticism and socialist emulation.

2. Achievements in industrial construction, where the problem of accumulation of funds for capital construction had been solved and new socialist cadres were being trained.

3. Achievements in agricultural construction, where the mass of the middle peasants were already turning to the collective farm movement.

Problems of Agrarian Policy in the U.S.S.R. (1929)

In this speech Stalin deals with a series of theoretical questions concerning which there existed confusion of ideas which could endanger the practical success of socialist construction. Theoretical work, says Stalin, was lagging behind practice, whereas it ought to keep ahead of practical work. The following problems are dealt with:

1. The problem of accumulating funds for socialist construction—“expanded socialist reproduction.”

2. The need for the working class in the towns to give leadership to socialist construction in the countryside.

3. The superiority of large-scale over small-scale enterprise not only in industry but also in agriculture.

4. The material assistance rendered to the peasants by the socialist workers.

5. The socialist character of collective farming.

6. The turn from the policy of restriction of the kulaks to the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class.

This latter point is further explained in the short article: *The Policy of Eliminating the Kulaks as a Class*. Stalin points out that so long as the material conditions did not yet exist for large-scale socialist farming, there could be no question of eliminating the capitalist kulak farms but only of limiting them and restricting the activity of the kulaks. But when the material conditions were ripe for the mass turn to large-scale collective farming, then the question on the agenda was not that of restricting the kulaks but eliminating the kulak farms altogether.

Dizzy with Success (1930)

In this article, which was of tremendous importance in the collective farm movement, Stalin exposes certain “leftist” mistakes which threatened to disrupt the collective farm movement, namely, violations of the voluntary character of the collective farms, failure to allow for the diversity of conditions in different districts and attempts to socialise not only the principal means of production but also household land, dwellings, etc.

The same points are further amplified and explained in the article: *Reply to Collective Farm Comrades*. Having read this article, the reader should turn to Stalin’s speech at the Central Committee three years later, entitled *Work in the Rural Districts*, in which he analyses in a self-critical tone defects still remaining in the work of the party in building and leading the collective farm movement. Like *Dizzy with Success*, this speech is an outstanding example of Stalin’s emphasis on Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.

The Tasks of Business Executives (1931)

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New Conditions, New Tasks (1931)

In these speeches to conferences of Soviet business executives, Stalin stresses the need to master technique. He further deals with questions of the recruiting of labour power, wages, the organisation of work, the training of personnel, etc.

The Results of the First Five-Year Plan (1933)

Reporting to the Central Committee on the results of the First Five-Year Plan, successfully completed in four years, Stalin first emphasises its international significance. "The successes of the Five-Year Plan are mobilising the revolutionary forces of the working class of all countries against capitalism."

Analysing the results in detail, he shows that the fundamental task of the Five-Year Plan had been achieved, namely, to convert the U.S.S.R. into a land of powerful socialist industry and large-scale collective farming, and to achieve this without outside aid, by means of the internal resources of the country alone. This achievement was leading to a rapid rise in the material and cultural standards of the working people, and to elimination of the last remnants of hostile classes.

4. Socialist Labour

Speech at the First All-Union Conference of Collective Farm Shock Workers (1933)

Stalin shows that the collective farm path is the path to socialism, and to a prosperous life for the peasants. Dealing with the position and work of communists in the collective farms, he stresses that they must not grow conceited and isolate themselves from non-party people, and that "modesty is the adornment of the Bolshevik." It is the workers and peasants who are now "the real heroes and the creators of the new life."

Address to Graduates from Red Army Academies (1935)

This speech should be read as following up the speech to Business Executives four years earlier.

Stalin points out that when the U.S.S.R. lacked its own machines and machine-building industry, it had to be said that "technique decides

everything,” but now they must say that “cadres decide everything.” He therefore emphasised the need to value cadres and to help them in every way.

In the opening section of this speech Stalin sums up the reason why it was above all necessary in order to achieve socialism in the U.S.S.R. to make the fundamental tasks of the First Five-Year Plan the construction of socialist heavy industry, rather than concentrating on the production of consumer goods.

Speech at the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites (1935)

Stalin explains that the Stakhanovite movement, which arose in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, is a higher stage of socialist emulation arising on the basis of modern technique which sets itself the aims of greatly increasing the productivity of socialist labour. Just as capitalism defeated feudalism because it created higher standards of productivity of labour, and made society richer, so will socialism beat capitalism. “Socialism can succeed only on the basis of a high productivity of labour.”

But the Stakhanovite movement, says Stalin, also prepares the way for the transition from socialism to communism, to the creation of “an absolute abundance of articles of consumption,” and to “raising the cultural and technical level of the working class to the level of engineers and technicians.”

The Stakhanovite movement was a movement from below which quickly spread throughout the whole Soviet Union. This was made possible, says Stalin, for four reasons:

1. Because of the radical improvement in the material standards of the workers. “Life has improved, comrades, life has become more joyous and when life is joyous work goes well.”

2. Because of the abolition of exploitation, as a result of which “labour in our country has a social significance and is a matter of honour and glory.”

3. Because the U.S.S.R. is fully equipped with modern technique.

4. Because the people have come forward able to use that technique. As a result of the Stakhanovite movement the old technical standards were being smashed and new technical standards created.

In conclusion he stresses the tasks of the party and the government to help forward the Stakhanovite movement, and declares that “only such leaders can be real Bolshevik leaders as know not only how to teach the workers and peasants but also how to learn from them.”

5. *The U.S.S.R. Constitution*

On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. (1936)

The U.S.S.R. Constitution, adopted in 1936 and known as the Stalin Constitution, sums up and gives legislative form to the achievements of socialist society.

introducing the Draft Constitution at the 8th Congress of Soviets on November 25, 1936, after a nationwide discussion of the draft, Stalin proclaimed the complete victory of the socialist system in all spheres of the national economy. Exploitation of man by man was abolished, while socialist ownership of the implements and means of production was established as the basis of Soviet society. A new socialist economy had come into being which provided everyone with every opportunity to lead a prosperous and cultured life.

All the old exploiting classes were eliminated. There remain, Stalin says, the working class, the peasant class and the intelligentsia, but these themselves have changed with the victory of socialism. There is an entirely new working class, emancipated from exploitation. Similarly, there is an entirely new collective farm peasantry, and a new intelligentsia recruited from the working class and the peasant class and serving the people and not the exploiting classes.

At the same time, relations of full equality, fraternal cooperation and mutual aid had been established between the sixty nations, national groups and nationalities of the multinational Soviet State.

The Constitution, says Stalin, is the registration and legislative embodiment of these achievements. It proceeds from the fact that the working people are in power, and that “the guidance of society by the

state (the dictatorship) is in the hands of the working class.”

Further specific features of the Constitution are that it proceeds from the proposition that all nations and races have equal rights, that it is thoroughly democratic, and that while proclaiming rights (the right to work, the right to leisure, etc.), it also guarantees the conditions required to exercise those rights.

Stalin goes on to deal with bourgeois criticisms of the Draft Constitution and the various amendments that had been proposed.

Especially important points arising in these sections are:

1. The explanation of the reason for the existence of only one party, the Communist Party, in the U.S.S.R.
2. The explanation that there exist two classes in Soviet society, the workers and peasants.
3. The explanation of the principle of the right of secession of Union Republics.
4. The explanation of the grounds for introducing the two-chamber system in the Supreme Soviet (the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of the Nationalities).
5. The explanation of the constitutional position of the president of the U.S.S.R.
6. The explanation of the reasons for establishing universal suffrage without any restrictions.

Concluding his speech, Stalin declares that the Constitution is “a document testifying to the fact that what millions of honest people in capitalist countries have dreamed of and still dream of, has already been realised in the U.S.S.R.,” and “that what has already been realised in the U.S.S.R. is fully possible of realisation in other countries also.”

9. NATIONAL LIBERATION

INTRODUCTION

Capitalism breeds nationalism, national hostility, the oppression of one nation by another, imperialist oppression of colonial countries. The solution of the national question, i.e. of the series of problems arising from national and colonial oppression under capitalism and imperialism, constitutes an important part of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

Marx and Engels stressed the subordination of the national question to the fundamental interests of the international working class. "In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, the communists point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality," proclaimed the *Communist Manifesto*.

Hence they adopted varying attitudes to the various bourgeois nationalist movements of their time. They called on the workers to support the national unification of Austria, Italy and Germany as a revolutionary aim, and to support the national liberation struggles of the Poles and Hungarians. At the same time they recognised the reactionary character of, and therefore opposed, the nationalist movement of Pan-Slavism among the Czechs and Croats, since this was in fact serving as an instrument for the expansion of arch-reactionary Tsarism.

A selection of Marx and Engels' writings on the national movement in Europe from 1848 to 1871, edited and with an introduction and full explanatory notes by Dona Torr is contained in the volume *Marxism, Nationality and War*, Part II.

In *Capital* Marx exposed the nature of the colonial policy of capitalism, and he always taught that the emancipation of the working class was inseparable from that of the enslaved colonial peoples. "A people which enslaves others forges its own chains," said a resolution of the 1st International, drafted by Marx in 1869. Marx and Engels consistently urged the working class to oppose every form of colonial expansion and colonial oppression. They devoted the closest attention to the Irish question (see the *Correspondence*), holding that the liberation of Ireland was a condition for the victory of the English working class. They followed closely British

policy and the national struggle in India and China (see *Marx on China*, edited by Dona Torr).

The national Question occupied from the start a prominent place in the programme of the Bolshevik Party, since Tsarist Russia was “a prison house of nations.”

The essentials of the working class approach to the national question in the period up to the Great October Socialist Revolution was summed up in Lenin’s *Right of Nations to Self Determination* and Stalin’s *Marxism and the National Question*. These are the two basic works with which the student should begin study of this question.

The Marxist-Leninist policy on the national question was put into practice in the Great October Revolution, and the lines of the solution of the national question were established in the building of the multi-national Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The most profound creative development of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism in the national question was undertaken by Stalin.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened up a new stage of the development of the national question by liberating the formerly backward and oppressed nations of a vast state. It gave a tremendous impetus and a new perspective to the struggle for national liberation and national revolution throughout the East and the entire colonial world, which had already been awakened by the 1905 Revolution in Russia.

On the development of the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the national question after the Great October Socialist Revolution, the reader should turn first to Stalin’s *Foundations of Leninism*, Chapter 6, *The October Revolution and the National Policy of the Russian Communists*, *The National Question Presented*, and the *Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East* (all included in the volume *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*) and Stalin’s booklet *The National Question and Leninism*.

Stalin’s writings and speeches *on China*, in 1926-7, are of fundamental importance in the theory and practice of the Chinese Revolution, out of which has been developed the complete body of teachings concerning the

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national revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries embodied in the works of Mao Tse-tung. These works are a further development of Marxism-Leninism in the national, democratic revolution in colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries at the present period. The teachings of Mao grew and developed in the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people; they unite the theories of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese Revolution.

According to these teachings, the national revolution is neither a bourgeois-democratic revolution of the old type, nor a proletarian socialist revolution. It is a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type, directed against imperialism and against feudal survivals within the country fostered and upheld by imperialism. While a section of the bourgeoisie goes over to the side of imperialism and opposes the revolution, the basic motive forces of the revolution are the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, and it is led by the working class. Its aim is the complete elimination of the oppression of both foreign imperialism and domestic feudalism and to establish a democracy in which the ruling, guiding power is the working class in alliance with the mass of working people. Immediate objectives are national independence, land reform, development of national industry and trade, protection of the standards and rights of the working people. This does not exclude that capitalist enterprise plays a role in building up the national economy, under the control of the People's Government. Only on the basis of carrying through these national, democratic tasks can the revolution advance the next step to the stage of socialism.

On this further creative development of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the national revolution in the present period, the reader should consult especially *People's Democratic Dictatorship*, by Mao Tse-tung; *Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China*, by Hu Chiao-mu; *On the Party*, by Liu Shao-chi.

LENIN: The Right of Nations to Self-Determination

The Programme of the R.S.D.L.P. adopted at the Second Congress in 1903 included on Lenin's insistence a point recognising the right of all nations to self-determination. This has always remained an integral part of the programme of the Communist Party.

Lenin's book *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination* was published

in 1914, mainly in reply to misunderstandings about the question on the part of Rosa Luxemburg.

The following are the chief points stressed by Lenin.

1. The rise of nations and national movements is linked up with the victory of capitalism over feudalism. Its economic basis lies in the fact that the bourgeoisie must capture the home market, have politically united territories, and develop a national language, the most important means of human intercourse. It follows that the right of nations to self-determination primarily means the right of political separation of these nations from alien national bodies, the right to the formation of independent national states.

2. The working class must oppose all national oppression and support every national striving against oppression. No nation can be free if it oppresses another nation. Hence the working class party must resolutely defend the right of all nations to self-determination. To deny this right is tantamount to defending national oppression and supporting the privileges of dominating nations.

3. As against bourgeois nationalism, which always seeks special advantages for its own nation, the working class is opposed to all national privileges without exception, and fights against all national exceptionalism, hostility and oppression. Hence, while always supporting the right to self-determination and every national striving against national oppression, the working class opposes every striving for national exceptionalism, and repudiates the nationalist policy of the bourgeoisie.

4. The national question must in every case be approached and solved in the light of the particular circumstances of the case. In this connection, Lenin specially examines the National Question in Norway, Sweden, Poland and Ireland.

5. As regards the question of secession, to uphold the right to secede does not mean advocating secessions in all cases. Hence what the working class must stand for is "the recognition of the right to secession for all; the appraisal of each concrete question of secession from the point of view of removing all inequality, all privileges, all exceptionalism."

6. For the working class, national demands are subordinate to the interests of the class struggle. The recognition of the right of nations to self-determination entails for the working class the establishment of the strongest international unity and solidarity between the working class of different nations.

LENIN: The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up

Two sections of this article, which was published in 1916, appear in English translation in the collection, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*. In them Lenin shows how Marx always judged national movements in their relation to the international struggle for socialism. The national demands of small nations were subordinate to the interests of the liberation of a number of big nations, and had to be considered, not in isolation, but on a European or on a world scale. The advent of imperialism meant that a handful of great powers were oppressing other nations, and the task then became to develop all national movements against imperialism in order to hasten the defeat of imperialism.

Internationalism has different implications in great oppressing nations and in small oppressed nations. In the former it demands emphasis upon the right of the oppressed nations to freedom of secession; in the latter, emphasis upon “voluntary union,” together with the fight against “small nation narrow-mindedness, isolationism and aloofness.”

A third section, dealing with the Easter Rebellion in Ireland, is translated in Vol. V of the 12- volume *Lenin Selected Works*. Here Lenin shows that the national liberation struggles of small nations are an important link in the world revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Social revolution is inconceivable without revolts by small nations—revolts which may not themselves bear a socialist character, but which objectively attack capital.

It can never happen that “in one place an army will line up and say ‘we are for socialism,’ and in another place another army will say ‘we are for imperialism’.” To expect “a ‘pure’ social revolution” is to “pay lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is.”

LENIN: The National Pride of the Great-Russians

This article was written soon after the outbreak of war in 1914, when the reactionaries were shouting about nationality and fatherland.

Lenin shows that love of country, national pride, is not alien to socialists. The fight to end class oppression within the country, and to end the shameful oppression of other nations, is a fight dictated by love of country, which demands struggle to overthrow the reactionaries who are ruining and disgracing the nation.

STALIN: Marxism and the National Question

Stalin's article *Marxism and the National Question*, published in 1913, develops the Marxist teachings on the national question on the basis of the entire experience of national movements to that date, and constituted the point of departure for the solution of the national question in the Russian Revolution.

The fundamental ideas contained in this article may be summed up under four headings:

1. *The Definition of a Nation*

Stalin gives a basic definition of a nation and demonstrates the Marxist method of arriving at a definition by considering the subject in all its aspects and in its actual development. His definition is as follows: "A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture.... It is only when all these characteristics are present that we have a nation."

2. *Bourgeois Nationalism and Working-class Internationalism*

Stalin demonstrates that the formation of nations and independent national states took place with the development of capitalism. The bourgeoisie played the leading role in the formation of nations, and gave a

bourgeois character to the national movement.³⁴⁴

While the stronger nations obtained national independence, others did not advance far enough in national development before they fell under the domination of the stronger nations. Hence the occurrence of the oppression of one nation by another.

Bourgeois nationalism always bears a character of exclusiveness, of national enmity and of national oppression. And in the conditions of rising capitalism the national struggle necessarily took the form of a struggle between different national bourgeois classes.

The working class fights against all national oppression and for the self-determination of all nations, but does not allow itself to be diverted by bourgeois nationalism into solidarity with its own national bourgeoisie and into international enmity.

What distinguishes the policy of the working class on the national question from bourgeois nationalism is that the working class seeks to end all national oppression and hostility and to establish the fraternal unity between the working classes and working people of all nations.

3. For National Self-Determination and Against Separatist Tendencies

Stalin stresses that the working class supports the right of every nation to self-determination. This does not mean, however, that the working class supports every national demand and every national institution. The right to self-determination is one thing; what national policy will actually be adopted, what national institutions will be established and whether the nation will separate itself from another nation, or unite with it, is another thing. Particular national demands are or are not to be supported according to the circumstances of the case. The correct policy in each case can be decided only on the basis of considering the specific economic, political and cultural conditions of the given nation.

Stalin strongly opposes nationalist separatist tendencies among the working class organisations. In countries where several nationalities are represented among the working class, such tendencies can lead to the destruction of the unity of the working class movement.

³⁴⁴ But see Stalin, *The National Question and Leninism*, on socialist nations.

Stalin therefore declares that the working class could not support the demand for so-called “national cultural autonomy,” because it was an artificial proposal which bolstered up reactionary nationalist trends and divided the workers.

4. *The Conditions for the Solution of the National Problem*

Stalin concludes that there were five conditions for the solution of the national problem:

1. Recognition of the right of all nations to self-determination.
2. Regional autonomy for national groupings occupying their own territory within a multinational state.
3. The establishment of the conditions of the fullest democracy.
4. National equality, i.e. no special privileges for any one nation, and no restriction of the rights of national minorities.
5. United working-class organisations and international solidarity of the working class. These latter points were further explained and elaborated by Stalin in his *Report on the National Question* to the 7th Party Conference in April 1917.

The Great October Socialist Revolution and the National Question

In articles and speeches on the National Question in the period following the October Revolution 1917, contained in the volume *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, Stalin develops the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the national question further, in the light of the new conditions arising after the Russian Revolution.

What are these principal further developments of the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the national question?

1. The national question has become bound up with the question of the liberation of the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples from imperialism. From being a question bound up with the bourgeois

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democratic revolution, the national question had become bound up with the destiny of the socialist revolution. From being a movement dominated by the bourgeoisie, the national movement became a revolutionary movement led by the working class and peasants in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

2. The solution of the national question is therefore inseparable from the anti-imperialist struggle and the liberation of nations from the power of capital.

3. The struggle for national liberation must be led by the working class in alliance with the peasants, and demands the isolation of those sections of the bourgeoisie of the given nation which collaborate with imperialism.

4. The working class must help and support the colonial liberation movements both to struggle against imperialism and, after liberation, to develop economy and culture in the direction of socialism.

5. The right of nations to self-determination is defined as the right to political secession and to form independent states. Where unions of nations are formed, the union must be voluntary and based on mutual confidence.

6. It is necessary to fight on the one hand against "great power chauvinism," the tendency of nationals of the stronger nations to believe themselves superior to other nations and to seek to dominate them; and on the other hand against local nationalist and separatists tendencies, which breed hostility between peoples. The working class must always stand for the fraternal union of peoples, mutual aid, and aid from the more advanced to the less advanced nations.

The following are the principal speeches and articles contained in *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* in which the above points are elaborated.

The October Revolution and the National Question. 1918

Here Stalin deals with the position of the border regions of the old Tsarist Empire in the Russian Revolution. He shows how, with the overthrow of the Tsar, the national bourgeoisie in the border regions tried to form their own national states, but were powerless against the oppressive policy

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of the Provisional Government on the one hand, and the hostility of their own workers and peasants on the other hand.

After October, they fought against the socialist revolution and began to sell out to foreign imperialism.

It became obvious that national liberation could come only by struggle of the workers and peasants of the border regions in alliance with the Russian workers and peasants, against both the foreign imperialists and their own bourgeoisie.

The October Revolution, Stalin concludes, widened the whole scope of the national question by striking the first blows for the emancipation of all oppressed nations, colonies and semi-colonies from imperialism.

The Policy of the Soviet Government on the National Question in Russia. 1920

In this article Stalin shows that imperialism could only be defeated by a union of the border peoples with the workers and peasants of Central Russia. Either they must join forces with the Russian workers and peasants, or else they must join forces with the foreign imperialists, and come under the yoke of imperialism.

Therefore, Stalin concludes, it is necessary to oppose tendencies for the secession of the border regions from the Russian Soviet Republic.

He stresses the duty of the Russian workers to help the peoples of the border regions to enter into the general stream of Soviet development.

Theses and Report on the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Connection with the National Problem. 1921

In the Theses and Report on the National Problem to the 10th Party Congress, Stalin shows how capitalism inevitably creates national hostility and national oppression, and how the final solution of the national question is possible on the basis of socialism.

The National Question Presented. 1921

In this article Stalin says that there were four principal features of the

presentation of the national question by the Bolshevik Party.³⁴⁵

1. The central issue is the emancipation of the colonial peoples from imperialism, and solidarity between the working class in the imperialist countries and the colonial peoples against imperialism.

2. The right of nations to self-determination must be defined as the right to political secession and to form independent states. (Such a definition unmasks all hypocritical imperialist talk about self-determination).

3. The liberation of nations is inseparable from their emancipation from the power of capital.

4. The workers of the more advanced countries have the duty of rendering aid to the people of the less advanced countries.

The Amalgamation of the Soviet Republics. 1922

Stalin's two Reports at the 10th All-Russian Congress of Soviets in 1922 deal with the historic decision to set up the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Theses and Report on National Factors in Party and State. 1923

Stalin's Theses and Report at the 12th Party Congress deal with three obstructions hindering the solution of the National Question in the U.S.S.R., namely: (1) tendencies to Great Russian chauvinism; (2) mistaken proposals concerning economic and cultural autonomy for particular national groupings; (3) survivals of local nationalism in the border regions.

He stresses that it is particularly the duty of the Russian workers to combat Great Russian chauvinism, while it is the duty of the peoples of the border republics to combat their own nationalist survivals.³⁴⁶

The October Revolution and the National Policy of the Russian

³⁴⁵ See Stalin, *Report to 16th Congress C.P.S.U.(B), Foundations of Leninism*.

³⁴⁶ See Stalin, *Report to 16th Congress C.P.S.U.(B), Foundations of Leninism*, Lenin, *The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up*.

Communists. 1921

The October Revolution and the Middle Strata. 1923

These two articles, both written on the respective anniversaries of the October Revolution, stress the role of the oppressed nationalities as allies of the working class in the struggle against imperialism and for socialism.

The October Revolution, Stalin concludes, has brought the ideas of socialism to the peoples of all the oppressed nations.³⁴⁷

Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East. 1925

In this speech to students at the University of the Peoples of the East, Stalin deals with the problems of both the peoples of Soviet Republics and of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries.

In the Soviet Republics their fundamental task is to achieve an economic development towards socialism and to develop a national culture, proletarian in content and national in form.

As regards the colonial and dependent countries, no liberation from imperialism is possible without a victorious national revolution, in which the working class takes the lead of the whole people and isolates the compromising sections of the bourgeoisie.

The bond between the colonial peoples and the working class in the imperialist countries must be constantly strengthened.

STALIN: The National Question and Leninism

Stalin's booklet *The National Question and Leninism*, published in 1929, deals with several questions raised in letters received from comrades.

1. Must a nation also possess its own national state? Stalin answers, No.
2. Stalin distinguishes between bourgeois nations and socialist nations.

³⁴⁷ See Stalin, *The International Character of the October Revolution*.

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Nations were first formed in the epoch of capitalism and were shaped and consolidated by the bourgeoisie. But on the basis of the overthrow of capitalism arise the new socialist nations, which are shaped and consolidated by the working class in alliance with the peasants.

3. Stalin deals with the question of the dying away of national differences and national languages. These will continue to exist and to develop after the victory of socialism in particular countries, and will begin to die away only in the period of the victory of socialism on a world scale.

4. Stalin deals with the differences between the Marxist-Leninist presentation of the national question before and after the Russian Revolution, and with the way in which the solution of the national and colonial question has become bound up with the struggle against imperialism, and with the world socialist revolution.

Stalin on China

Stalin's speeches and articles on China in the years 1926-7 are of profound significance as providing the theoretical foundations of the policy of Communism in relation to China, and thereby of understanding the revolutionary tasks throughout the whole of the colonial and semi-colonial world.

They should be read in association with the study of Lenin's policy in the 1905 Revolution in Russia, as set forth in *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*. Stalin applies and develops Lenin's ideas in considering the tasks of the revolution in China.

In the period 1926-7, with which Stalin was dealing, the revolutionary national armies of the Kuomintang were overcoming the armies of the reactionary war-lords and generals backed by the imperialists. There was a great rise in the united anti-imperialist struggle of the bloc of workers, peasants and national bourgeoisie. But precisely in this period of the victory of the Kuomintang armies, the right wing leaders of the Kuomintang turned against the revolution and entered into a compact with imperialism against the revolution.

Stalin's whole approach is based on the recognition of the need (1) to take into account the special national peculiarities of China; (2) to win all

possible allies at each stage of the revolution; (3) to adapt slogans to the changing situation in order to lead the masses and enable them to learn from their own experience at each stage.

What are the principal questions which Stalin clarifies in these speeches and articles?

1. He defines the general character of the Chinese revolution as a bourgeois democratic revolution, which has the special character of a revolution for national liberation directed against foreign imperialism.

2. He shows that the revolution must be led by the working class and its party, which must arouse and win to the revolution the millions of the peasants, as well as allying itself at definite stages of the revolution with sections of the national bourgeoisie.

3. He shows that the future power to be established as a result of the victory of the revolution will be a power of the type of the democratic dictatorship of the working class and peasantry. This power will be directed first and foremost against imperialism. It will have the task of leading the peasants to carry through agrarian reform by confiscating the landlords' land and so uprooting feudalism in China, and of initiating a new non-capitalist development of Chinese economy which will lead in the direction of socialism.

4. Stalin lays special stress on the military aspects of the Chinese Revolution, pointing out the key role of the revolutionary armies in China.

As regards the policy of the imperialists in China, he stresses that imperialist intervention takes the form not only of foreign invasion, but also of the use of home-bred reactionaries, "intervention by means of catspaws."

REFERENCE INDEX

This index makes no pretensions to completeness, but refers the reader only to principle references for each subject. Chapter references are given where necessary for works containing several chapters.

AGRICULTURE

The development of capitalism in agriculture: Marx, Capital, Vol. I, Parts, 4, 7, 8; Vol. III, Part 6. Lenin, Capitalism in Agriculture; The Development of Capitalism in Russia; The Agrarian Question and the Critics of Marx; New Data on Laws of Development of Capitalism in Agriculture; The Agrarian Programme of Social Democracy in 1st Russian Revolution.

Also: Marx, 18th Brumaire, Ch. 7; Engels, Peasant Question in France and Germany; Lenin, What the Friends of the People Are; A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism.

The socialist collectivisation of agriculture: History C.P.S.U.(B), Ch. 11; Engels, Peasant Question in France and Germany; Lenin, On Cooperation; Stalin, Report to 15th Congress.

Problems of development of collective farms in U.S.S.R.: Stalin, Problems of Agrarian Policy in U.S.S.R.; Dizzy with Success; Reply to Collective Farm Comrades; Work in Rural Districts; Speech at First All-Union Conference of Collective Farm Shock Workers.

See also PEASANTS.

ALLIES OF WORKING CLASS

The fundamental conception of allies of the working class: Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, Ch. 7; Marx and Engels, Communist Manifesto, Ch. 4; Marx, Address of Central Committee to Communist League; Critique of Gotha Programme.

Also: Lenin, Two Tactics of Social Democracy, together with History of C.P.S.U.(B), Ch. 3; Engels, Prefatory Note to Peasant War in Germany; Peasant Question in France and Germany; Lenin, What the Friends of the People Are; Stalin, On China.

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ANARCHISM

Stalin, *Anarchism or Socialism*; Lenin, *State and Revolution*, Chs. 4, 6; Marx, *The Revolution in Spain*; Engels, *On Authority*; Marx-Engels *Correspondence* (consult index of Selected Correspondence edited by Dona Torr; but see especially Marx Letter to Bolte (1871), Engels letter to Kuno (1872), in MESW, Vol. II).

BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION. See REVOLUTION

CAPITALISM

The general nature of capitalist production and exploitation of the working class; Marx, *Wages, Price and Profit*; *Wage Labour and Capital*; *Capital*, Vol. 1; Lenin, *Karl Marx*.

Fundamental contradictions of capitalism: Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Ch. 3; Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. 15.

The general laws of development of capitalism and capitalist production: Marx and Engels, *Communist Manifesto*, Ch. 1; Marx, *Inaugural Address to I.W.M.A.*; *Capital*, Vol. I, Parts 4, 7, 8; Engels, *The Housing Question*; *Condition of the Working Class in 1844*; Stalin, *Anarchism or Socialism*. Also, Lenin, *Development of Capitalism in Russia*; *What the Friends of the People Are*; *A Characterization of Economic Romanticism*.

The dependence of the distribution of wealth under capitalism upon the mode of production: Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Part II, Chs. 1, 2, 3, 4, Part III, Chs. 3, 4; Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*; *Capital*, Vol. III, Part 7.

The development of monopoly capitalism: Lenin, *Imperialism*; also Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Ch. 3.

On a number of special questions concerning capitalist economy see as follows:—

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- PL** **PROBLEMS OF LENINISM by Stalin.**
Foreign Languages Publishing House of U.S.S.R. distributed in Britain
by Collets. Earlier editions, entitled **LENINISM**, were published in two
volumes by Allen and Unwin, and in one volume by Lawrence and
Wishart. The contents of different editions have varied slightly.
- MNCQ** **MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTION, by Stalin.**
Lawrence and Wishart. 6/6d.
- LW** Apart from the above collections, a number of separate works are
published by Lawrence and Wishart.
- FLPH** Other separate titles are published by the Foreign Languages
Publishing House of the U.S.S.R. and distributed in Britain by Collets.

Appendix C - Marxist Glossary

Marxist Glossary by L. Harry Gould, published originally by Proletarian Publishers, 1947. REPRINTED by Okemah Free Press in 2019

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To those who submitted suggestions for the terms to be included in the Glossary;

To Mrs. Nancy Miller for typing the MSS.; To several colleagues, including Syd. Mostyn and Steve Purdy, and to J. B. Miles, L. Sharkey and R. Dixon especially, for reading the MSS. and making valuable suggestions and criticisms - the author accepting, of course, full and final responsibility for everything in the Glossary;

And to thousands of readers who ordered the Glossary even before it went to the printer!

L. HARRY GOULD. Sydney, June, 1946.

The author had intended to describe this work as a second edition of his "Glossary of Marxist Terms," published in 1943.

The "Marxist Glossary," however, is so much larger in size, and so much more definitive and comprehensive in treatment, that we consider it would be incorrect to regard it simply as a second edition of the earlier work, excellent and useful as it was. This "Marxist Glossary" is really a new work.

THE PUBLISHERS.

BY WAY OF A PREFACE.NEED TO REVISE WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY!³⁴⁸

("Words are spoken to conceal thoughts." - Talleyrand.)

Language changes with social evolution. Man coins words to communicate thoughts and ideas. In the daily crucible of his experience and activities - in the home, at work, in politics - words are tested for their exactitude in conveying ideas, for the fidelity with which they describe feeling. Certain words never change; the meanings vested in them by early man survive the vastest mutations of history. From primeval times to the present, these meanings have remained unaltered right through the different historical stages and the varied social developments and social catastrophes; they are indeed inalienable. Words marked with this "stamp of eternity" are, understandably enough, those denoting nature's phenomena. They are therefore immediate to man: the parts or movements of the universe around him (sun, moon, tide, day, night), bodily organs and functions (hands, head, to eat), biological divisions (man, woman, child, animal).

But the meanings of many words change, or go out of use altogether, some within extraordinarily short periods. Suffice it here to refer to any of the big standard dictionaries with their lengthy columns of words, once replete with vigor and life, now reduced to the category of obsolete or archaic.

The scientific Socialist fighting for the new civilisation is continuously at grips with the problem of words and their meaning. His weapons of struggle are ideas, political programmes, transmitted to the masses by the oral or written word. Analysis of those words which are significant for the remaking of society is not a problem of philology; the essence of the problem is political, i.e., class. Select a group of words and terms commonly associated with the class struggle (democracy, law and order, defence of small nations, extremism, freedom, justice, pacification, illegality, etc.) and study the denotations given by Webster or any other authoritative work. One is immediately struck with the superficiality, the perversion of meaning, the unreality and the divorcement from verifiable

³⁴⁸ Reprinted, slightly amended, from the Communist Review, March, 1946.

fact. Sometimes, the definitions border on the ludicrous. But above everything else, the definitions are characterised by concealment of the real issues in contemporary class-divided society.

Are these defects deliberate? Yes, they are. An interesting example is to be found in that “fount of all knowledge and final arbiter of man’s wisdom” - the Encyclopaedia Britannica. The article on atheism is written by a clergyman. The one on Bolshevism in earlier editions was supplied - guess by whom - by that arch-Fifth Columnist and most implacable enemy of Bolshevik theory and practice, Trotsky! The article for the 14th edition is written by Labor- imperialist Prof. Harold Laski, one equally implacable in his opposition to Bolshevism³⁴⁹. Such are the standards of truth and scientific objectivity among the bourgeoisie.

This writer, now engaged in compiling his new Glossary, thought it might be of advantage to consult the dictionary and encyclopaedia. (Hence this brief essay.) But the search for helpful definitions or phrasings drew a complete blank. In proposing the revision of Webster, one does so half jokingly, half seriously. Jokingly, because Webster represents a wonderfully rich part of man’s cultural heritage, accumulated through the ages; most of it will endure in its present form for many centuries to come. Seriously, because the changes in the social order - both the current struggles and their later consummation - demand a corresponding advance in the method and practice of lexicography.

From a hundred examples that might be cited, take the words bureaucracy and bureaucrat. Webster defines the latter: “An official of a bureau; especially an official confirmed in a narrow and arbitrary routine; a member of a bureaucracy.” Nothing more. This definition and the one of

³⁴⁹ As the term “Labor-imperialist” is not included in the Glossary, we define it here: One who is Labor in words, imperialist in deeds; one who, while giving utterance to Labor’s ideals of democracy. Socialism, etc., continues the traditional policy of imperialist oppression of the colonies. Example: The leaders of the English Labor Party (Attlee, Bevin, Morrison, Laski, Cripps), who, in their first nine months of government have managed already to shoot Indians, Indonesians, Malayans, Chinese, Burmese, Jews, Greeks, Egyptians, Annamites, etc. - all in the name of democracy and preparing these peoples for self- government!

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bureaucracy do possess a certain formal validity, one which the Marxist must comprehend. But it is only formal, or technical. Compare, now, with the Leninist explanation of the words, which uncovers the root of bureaucracy in the apparatus of administration needed by the exploiters in every State organ and government institution to serve their class interests against the exploited people.

Talleyrand's dictum quoted above is not just a clever sally, a bon-mot. Bourgeois pleas and declamations about cherishing every- thing "we" hold dear, preserving the sanctity of the home, administering justice and guarding truth, and the rest of the claptrap, merely express a principle of social conduct characteristic of every oppress- ing class in history.

HOW TO USE THE GLOSSARY

The best way to use this work is, first, to recognise it as being no more than what its title indicates - a glossary, i.e., a compilation of brief definitions and explanations of words and terms employed by Communist writers. The Glossary will serve as a handy aid to the student of Marxist literature. To regard the Glossary as a substitute for consistent study of the basic Marxist works - a sort of "catechism" to be learned by rote - would be fatal to any attempt to acquire a real understanding of Communism. The theoretical knowledge obtained from the study of Marxist texts has meaning and value only if it is translated into political activity - theory guiding action, and action testing, strengthening and enlarging theory. "Marxism is not a, dogma, but a guide to action," said Engels. And Stalin warned that Communists cannot expect "to calmly doze by the fireside and munch ready-made solutions!"

Further, the full benefit of the Glossary will be secured if the reader keeps in mind the inevitable limitation of definitions; the short space available for a definition or explanation omits perforce one or more important additional aspects of the subject under study. If this difficulty is appreciated, the "working definitions" of the Glossary will prove of great assistance to the student.

Of special importance is the need to remember that certain definitions express the ideal, rather than the actual, conditions in capitalism. Take wages. Marx assumes, at first, that the worker receives full value for his labor-power; this is necessary both for analysis of the subject-matter and its presentation. But Marx proceeds immediately to describe the reality, viz., the chronic universal under- payment of the workers, and the general tendency of capitalist production to sink the average standard of wages to the minimum limit.

Similarly with rent. "The theory of rent presupposes that the entire agricultural population has been split up completely into land- owners, capitalists and wage-laborers. This in an ideal of capitalism but by no means its reality" (Lenin). The farmer working his rented piece of land supposedly enjoys income in the form of "wages" he pays himself as a

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worker and the average normal profit on his capital investment in the farm. In real fact scores of thousands of Australia's farmers are no more than badly overworked and underpaid workers for the parasites in land, banking, commerce and transportation. No definition can reveal adequately the flesh-and-blood content, the color and passion, of the class struggle. Nor can a definition express the noble hatred harbored by Marx and the other great teachers and leaders of the Communist movement for the society which robs, mutilates and destroys humankind.

As with similar productions, the user of the Glossary will occasionally have to look up cross-references to obtain a more complete meaning of any one term; for instance, under reformism the reader is referred to opportunism, class-collaboration and imperialism. (These cross-references are indicated, as in the previous sentence, by boldface lettering.)

The Glossary was produced to meet the call from many quarters for some such work. Suggestions and criticisms from readers are invited, and, where suitable, will be incorporated in a later edition. - L.H.G.

ABSOLUTE RENT: See Rent.

ABSOLUTE TRUTH: See Truth.

AGITATION:

The act of rousing the masses to political action around some particular social injustice. "An agitator will take as an illustration a fact that is most widely known and outstanding among his audience, say, the death from starvation of the family of an unemployed worker, the growing impoverishment, etc., and, utilising this fact, which is known to all and sundry, will direct all his efforts to presenting a single idea to the 'masses,' i.e., the idea of the senseless contradiction between the increase of wealth and increase of poverty; he will strive to rouse discontent and indignation among the masses against this crying injustice, and leave a more complete explanation of this contradiction to the propagandist. Consequently the propagandist operates, chiefly by means of the printed word; the agitator operates with the living word" (Lenin). (See propaganda.)

AGNOSTICISM:

Materialism in philosophy, but an inconsistently-developed materialism because it disputes the validity of sense-perceptions, asserting that man can know only the qualities, or externals, of a thing, but not the thing-in-itself. "But one after another of these ungraspable things have been grasped, analysed and, what is more, reproduced by the giant progress of science; and, what we can produce, we certainly cannot consider as unknowable". "What, indeed, is agnosticism but, to use an expressive Lancashire term, 'shamefaced' materialism?" (Engels).

Agnosticism expressed in philosophy the interests of the bourgeoisie in the 19th century, progressive as against feudal reaction, but reactionary as against the new advanced class in history, the proletariat; consistent, i.e., dialectical, materialism was rejected because of its revolutionary implications. Agnosticism leads to Idealism.

ANARCHISM:

A petty-bourgeois ideology which rejects Marxist teachings on the State, and denies the necessity for wide, centralised and disciplined proletarian

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organisations. Anarchism, which derives from the teachings of Bakunin, Proudhon, Kropotkin and others, frequently adopts terrorism as a weapon in the class struggle, thereby distracting the proletariat from mass organisation and mass struggle. Anarchism usually has influence in capitalist countries with small- scale industry and a large peasant population. Anarchists were openly disruptive in the Russian revolutionary movement, and later in Spain, both before and during the anti-Franco war. (See Provocation.) “Ideologically, an Anarchist is just a bourgeois turned inside out” (Lenin).

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM:

Generally, the doctrine which rejects political action and regards trade unions as the only form of organisation, and strikes as the only form of struggle necessary for the workers. Based mainly on the teachings of Proudhon, a contemporary and bitter opponent of Marx, this movement was particularly strong in Spain; it flourished also in Italy and France. Anarcho-Syndicalism brought disastrous results to the workers in their struggles. (See I.W.W.)

ANTI-SEMITISM:

The instigation of hatred of and contempt for Jews, with the aim of diverting the discontent of the workers from the real cause of economic insecurity and social distress - namely, capitalist exploitation. Anti-Semitism is the favorite weapon of the fascists; it is the “hallmark of fascism.” The incitement of antagonism between Jew and non-Jew (and also between Protestant and Catholic, Hindu and Moslem, white and colored workers) is an old weapon in the hands of exploiting classes for the purpose of maintaining disunity amongst the toiling masses; it is the application of the maxim of imperial power, “divide and rule.” Anti-Semitism “belongs to -the ethics of cannibalism” (Stalin). (See Chauvinism.)

ARBITRATION (Compulsory Arbitration - Australian System):

A legal system of courts and industrial commissions of the capitalist State, instituted originally and ostensibly to arbitrate between employers and employees, but in practice functioning to: - (a) Prevent and/or break strike struggles; (b) Enforce acceptance by law of low living standards. (See Basic Wage); (c) Frame awards deliberately to split the workers; (d) Interfere in the domestic affairs of trade unions.

Arbitration exemplifies the fiction that the State power mediates, i.e., is neutral, between capitalists and workers; the record of Arbitration is clearly one of small concessions to the workers when their collective bargaining power is strong, and slashing of conditions when the workers are disunited and weak. In real fact, trade unions linked with Arbitration are regarded in law as agents, or instruments, of the capitalist State, i.e., agents for the implementation of capitalist class policy. "Those who become members of such an organisation (trade union), and particularly those who undertake the duty of managing its affairs, whether in supreme or subordinate authority, take a part more or less responsible in an association which is not merely a convenient method of obtaining just rights, but is also a public instrument for effectively administering an important statute (the Arbitration Act) of public policy for the general welfare" (Judge Cantor, on the deregistration of the Ironworkers' Union, 1945, quoting from an earlier judgment involving the Seamen's Union). The unions, therefore, lose their status as free independent organisations of the working class.

Arbitration is ardently supported by reformists; it expresses most clearly their class-collaborationist outlook. Communists brand Arbitration as "a pernicious, anti-working class institution, whose objective is to keep the workers shackled to the capitalist State, i.e., eternally wage-slaves" (L. Sharkey). (See Bureaucracy, Wage Labor.)

AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY (A.L.P.):

The Australian reformist party, formed 1893, based on the working class, but in theory and practice representing basically the interests of the capitalist class; hence, a two-class party, a "liberal bourgeois party" which "has to concern itself with developing and strengthening the country and with creating a central government," i.e., to transform Australia into "an independent capitalist state" (Lenin). Formation of the A.L.P. marked a big step forward for the Australian workers; it opened the path for future struggles and achievements. The A.L.P. made its greatest contribution to Australian Labor-democracy during the People's War against Fascism, by being able, on assuming government office, to successfully place national needs ahead of sectional interests. "What can be the future of the A.L.P. in these new circumstances? It is of course not likely that the A. L. P. ideology and policy of Liberal class-collaboration will disappear 'suddenly,' overnight, as it were. It is a process intimately bound up with the tactics

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of the United Front of the working class, which leads, as the workers become more radical, and as the Communist Party waxes stronger and the A.L.P. wanes, to something more than a United Front between the A.L.P. and the Communists, that is, a merger, a fusion, the organisational unity of the Communists and the A.L.P. masses, to form one great mass party of the toiling people, based upon and, practising Socialist principles. The Liberal Right-wing leadership of the A.L.P. cannot be 'won' for Socialism. They will continue to defend the capitalist State" (L. Sharkey).

BANK: An institution in capitalism dealing in a special kind of commodity, money-capital; "a mercantile firm dealing in money-capital." The principal and primary function of banks is to serve as an intermediary in the making of payments. In doing so they transform in- active money-capital into active capital, i.e., into capital producing a profit; they collect all kinds of money, revenues and place them at the disposal of the capitalist class. As banking develops and becomes concentrated in a small number of establishments, the banks become powerful monopolies having at their command almost the whole of the money-capital of all the capitalists and small businessmen, and also a large part of the means of production and of the sources of raw materials of the given country and of a number of countries. The transformation of numerous intermediaries into a handful of monopolists represents one of the fundamental processes in the transformation of capitalism into capitalist imperialism" (Lenin). (See Monopoly, Finance Capital.)

BASIC WAGE: See Wages.

BOLSHEVIKS:

The majority group at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (1903) which, under the leadership of Lenin, became the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks); then in 1917 the Russian Communist .Party (Bolsheviks), and finally, in 1924, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). Note: The word derives from the Russian, "bolshinstvo," meaning majority.

Bolshevism: The term applied to the history, theory and practice, and the historic achievements of the great Party of Lenin-Stalin, and also its significance internationally in providing a "model tactic" for the Communist Parties of other lands.

Thus the terms Bolshevik, Bolshevism possess this additional meaning when used, for example, in the following way: "The Bolshevization of the Communist Party," i.e., that the Communist Party of the country concerned is acquiring those very highest qualities and standards of leadership, courage, efficiency and mastery of all arms of the revolutionary struggle established by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

BOURGEOISIE:

The capitalist class. See Class.

BUREAUCRACY:

The capitalist State apparatus of administration in the armed forces, judiciary and other government organs and institutions - an apparatus, usually corrupt, not subject to popular control, and used precisely on behalf of the exploiters against the exploited masses. "The developed bourgeoisie needs a bureaucratic apparatus, primarily a military apparatus, then a juridical apparatus, etc." (Lenin.) Bureaucracy is therefore first and foremost a political, i.e., a class conception.

The term bureaucracy is also applicable to conditions and practices within the Labor Movement where the workers are prevented from exercising control over their organisations and full-time officials. A notorious example is the present leadership of the Australian Workers' Union (A.W.U.), which denies to its membership the most elementary democratic rights. Reformism generally is heavily impregnated with the alien bourgeois spirit and practice of bureaucracy. (See Democracy.)

Bureaucratic tendencies are manifest also among many "well-meaning" officials and leaders in the Labor Movement who approach working-class problems only from an administrative standpoint; or, technical experts who deprive the toilers of opportunity of political, technical and cultural development; in short, by those who deny the capacity of the masses for struggle, initiative, organisation and the creation of the new social order of Socialism.

A remarkably consistent, and successful struggle against bureaucracy was waged in Russia from the first days of Soviet power. "I hate it heartily. Not the individual bureaucrat, he may be a capable rascal. But I hate the

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system. It paralyses and corrupts from above and below” (Lenin). Stalin demanded “the exposure and expulsion from the administrative apparatus of incorrigible bureaucrats and redtapists.”

CADET:

Abbreviation for “Constitutional Democrat” - a member of the party of the liberal bourgeoisie in Tsarist Russia. After the 1905 Revolution the Cadets allied themselves with the Tsarist reaction.

CADRE:

Literally, a frame or framework. Cadres are those members on whom the Communist Party, throughout its various units of organisation, can mainly depend to carry forward its policy; they are a living framework which must be constantly renewed and strengthened - a process that will be successful to the degree that the Party fulfils its vanguard role. Cadres are the new forces which must be developed and fitted for positions of responsibility and leadership. Also, the leading Party officials, functionaries and activists around whom the whole membership is organised.

CAPITAL:

The definite social relation by which the means of production and all other kinds of commodities in the hands of the bourgeoisie are made into the means of exploitation of the workers; or, simply, values in the hands of the capitalists to produce surplus value. (See Wage Labor, Production.) “Capital is dead labor that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labor, and lives the more the more labor it sucks” (Marx). “Capital is a special, historically- defined social production relation” (Lenin). “A cotton-spinning machine is a machine for spinning cotton. Only under certain conditions does it become capital. Torn away from these conditions, it is as little capital as gold by itself is money, or as sugar is the price of sugar” (Marx). Concentration of Capital (Accumulation of Capital): The expansion of capital by the “transformation of a part of surplus value into capital, not for satisfying the personal needs or whims of the capitalists, but for new production” (Lenin).

Centralisation of Capital: The merging of capital by the joining of several enterprises into one. Centralisation may be a peaceful process, e.g., the organisation of stock companies, or violent, as a direct expression of capitalist cutthroat competition, e.g., when the big capitalist swallows his weaker rivals.

Organic Composition of Capital: The relation between the investment in constant capital (buildings, machinery, raw materials, fuel) and in variable capital (purchase of labor power) in a given enterprise or industry. A “high organic composition” means one with preponderance of constant capital over variable capital above the social average.

CAPITALISM:

Commodity production at the highest stage of development, when labor-power itself becomes a commodity; the social order in which the means of production are owned by a few people, the capitalists. The masses do not own the means of production; they produce the wealth of the country, but, except for a proportion of it, barely sufficient for their subsistence, which they receive in form of wages in payment of their labor-power, the wealth is appropriated by the capitalists. Under capitalism “production is social, appropriation is private.”

“Capital is not a thing, but a definite social relation. Things, means of production and all other kinds of commodities in the hands of the bourgeoisie in themselves are not capital. Only a definite social system makes these things into means of exploitation, converts them into carriers of that social relation which we call capital” (Marx).

CARTEL: See Monopoly.

CHARTISM:

The Chartist movement in England (1836-48), the first political movement in which the workers put forward their own independent class demands, principally in the “People’s Charter” of the London Workingmen’s Association with its central demand for universal male suffrage. The Six Demands of the Charter were: Equal electoral districts, abolition of property qualifications for M.P.’s, universal manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, secret ballot, the payment of M.P.’s.

In its real development, Chartism was “of an essentially social nature, a class movement” (Engels); this took the form of mass demonstrations, monster petitions, and armed collisions with the police and military. Though defeated, Chartism forced the ruling classes, the landlords and capitalists, to make some concessions to the working class.

CHAUVINISM:

One of the forms of imperialist ideology - specifically, imperialist conquest and oppression - designed to create among the masses contempt for and hatred of other peoples, races and nations. Its principal technique is the advocacy, through official propaganda, and in films, literature, etc., of "race theories" which characterise other peoples - those already under the yoke or marked out for conquest - as "inferior," as "incapable of governing themselves." Examples: The assertion that white-colored peoples are "superior" to colored peoples; the "Aryan race" and "Nordic" theories of the Nazis; the claim by the Japanese fascist-imperialists of the "divinity" of the Japanese people, etc. Chauvinism reached its worst degree under fascism. (See Anti-Semitism, Nationalism.) Chauvinism is contrasted with the conception of the brotherhood of peoples under Socialism: "Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race and nationality, as well as the advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law" (Clause 2, Article 123, Constitution of the U.S.S.R.).

CLASS:

A section of the population who occupy a certain relation to the means of production. Capitalists own the factories, mines, etc., and they are the capitalist class. The workers work in the mines and factories, but they do not own them; they are the working class. The main classes in modern society are two: Capitalists (bourgeoisie) and wage-workers (proletariat). In past times there existed slave owners, when the toilers were chattel slaves with no legal or social rights whatsoever; then feudal lords (the landowning class) with serfs (land workers and servants of landowners) tied to the land; also classes of guild-masters, journeymen, merchants, etc. (See Feudalism.)

From the Communist Manifesto: "By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage labor. By proletariat, the class of modern wage laborers, who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor-power in order to live." (See Labor Movement.)

In capitalist society there are middle classes, "petty bourgeoisie," small farmers, small shopkeepers, professional people, managerial staffs of capitalist enterprises, large numbers of administrative civil servants, etc. As people who work, these classes tend ideologically toward the

proletariat, but as commodity producers and sellers, as traders, and as persons socially close to the capitalists, they tend towards the latter. Generally, they are the “natural allies” of the working class, and can be won for the struggle against capitalism.

“Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie to-day, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product” (Manifesto of the Communist Party).

CLASS-COLLABORATION;

The “theory” and practice of reformism, which results in sub-ordination to the capitalist class; the policy that seeks to harmonise, or reconcile, the interests of the capitalists and the workers - interests which are antagonistic and irreconcilable. Note: This conception of irreconcilability is in no way altered by the fact that under certain conditions, the working class may collaborate for a period with the capitalists when the interests of both temporarily coincide, e.g., during the People’s War against Fascism, or, in the colonial national-liberation struggles against the imperialists. But in such cases the workers must, as always, guard vigilantly the independence of their class organisations. “Only those who have no self- reliance can fear to enter into temporary alliances even with unreliable people; not a single political party could exist without entering into such alliances” (Lenin).

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS:

The understanding by the workers (proletarians) that (a) they represent a single class, nationally and internationally, separate from all other classes; (b) their class interests are irreconcilables opposed to those of the capitalists against whom they must organise and fight to win their economic and social demands; (c) their final aim must be Socialism, i.e., they must struggle to become “the ruling power in the State” as the step towards freeing “the whole of society from exploitation, oppression and, class struggle” (Engels). (See Labor Movement.)

“The principal material basis for the development of proletarian class consciousness is large-scale industry, where the worker sees the factories working, where every day he senses the power which can really abolish classes” (Lenin). Also, “working class consciousness cannot be genuinely

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political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what class is affected” (Lenin).

CLASS STRUGGLE:

The struggle between oppressors and oppressed, between the owners of the means of production and the masses of toilers who own nothing but their capacity to labor. In past times the struggle was between the slave-owners and their slaves; later between the feudal barons and the serfs and the rising capitalist class; to-day between capitalists and wage-laborers.

The class struggle is “the immediate driving force in history, especially the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, as the powerful lever of the modern social transformation”. “Every class struggle is a political struggle” (Manifesto of the Communist Party). (See Contradiction.)

“The theory of the class struggle was not created by Marx, but by the bourgeoisie before Marx, and generally speaking it is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. To limit Marxism to the theory of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it. A Marxist is one who extends the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat” (Lenin).

CLERICALISM (Clerical-Reaction, Clerical-Fascism):

Political activities of the churches (Protestant, Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, etc.) aimed at strengthening their economic and social power, and also, as contributing to that end as well as for its own sake, defending the old exploiting orders - whether feudal, capitalist or fascist - against the advance of the Labor-democratic movement. (The term, therefore, is not to be applied only to the clericalism of the Roman Catholic Church, i.e., the Vatican-directed political activities of the R.C. Hierarchy and selected lay followers throughout the world. However, as well as being the most aggressively anti-Socialist of the Western religions, the Vatican's hostile attitude even towards bourgeois liberalism and democracy should be noted. Centuries ago, the R.C. “Counter-Reformation” and its special arm, the Holy Inquisition, attempted to destroy, in its beginnings then, the bourgeois democratic revolution and its child, the Protestant Reformation - an aim still being unremittingly pursued. To-day, in condemning not only Socialism but also bourgeois liberalism - “false liberalism,” according to

Catholic literature - the Vatican reveals its inclination to return to feudal despotism mixed with the fascist conception of the corporative state.)

In its modern meaning, clericalism (from the Anglo-Saxon “clerk,” a priest) dates from the French Revolution (1789) when the revolutionary bourgeoisie overthrew the power of the monarchy, nobility and the church. Throughout the 19th century, the clericals waged a fierce struggle against the liberalism associated with the further growth of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Europe; but from about the 1850’s the churches turned their main attention to the new progressive force in history, the working class. Examples: the Church of England’s opposition to repeal of the Corn Laws, to the extension of the franchise, to the repeal of the “hanging laws,” its support for imperialist domination of the colonial lands, etc.; in pre-Revolutionary Russia, the complete support of the Holy Synod of the Greek Orthodox Church for all the repressive anti-democratic measures of the Tsarist autocracy; in the Roman Catholic Church, Hierarchical opposition to the Sinn Fein national liberation movement in Ireland in the period of the First World War, condemnation of Socialism, and endorsement of Franco’s massacres of republican Catholics in the Spanish war. (Note: Following Hitler’s attack on Russia in 1941, the Greek Church in that country finally abandoned its anti-Soviet policy, and entered wholeheartedly into the struggle against the invader.)

The anti-Labor, anti-democratic policy of clericalism is admirably summarised in the Papal Encyclical “Divini Redemptoris” of 1937: “It is not true that all have equal rights in civil society. It is not true that there exists no lawful social hierarchy.” Thus, religious doctrine sanctifies and seeks to perpetuate a society with rich and poor, master and servant, higher and lower orders.

CLIENT STATE: See Colony.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING:

Direct negotiation between the trade unions and the employers concerning wages and conditions. Its principle, its essence, is reliance upon the organisation and united struggles of the workers for improving conditions, and the corresponding repudiation of compulsory arbitration or other forms of intervention by the State in the interests of the employers. (Note: Repudiation of compulsory arbitration does not mean repudiation in all

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cases of attempts at settlement of a dispute by submitting claims to an arbitration or "conciliation committee"; but the latter must be one agreed to by the workers, not imposed by the State authorities).

Agreements reached through collective bargaining should be legally binding, i.e., have the sanction of law.

COLONY:

An economically-backward country subjugated by a capitalist country; the inhuman exploitation of its population, coupled with the plundering of its natural resources, provide the capitalist (the "mother") country with imperialist super-profits. The struggles of the colonial peoples for national liberation must be fully supported by every class-conscious worker. (See Imperialism, Internationalism.)

Semi-Colony: A country partly under the domination - economic, political and military - of imperialism, e.g., China and Egypt, before the second World War.

Client State: A country, nominally independent, but because of outside financial intervention, subject to a greater or lesser degree of imperialist political domination, e.g., Portugal.

COMBINATION ACTS:

Laws passed by the British parliament in 1799 and 1800 prohibiting the formation of workers' combinations, i.e., trade unions; partially repealed in 1824-25 following widespread struggles against government repression and provocation. Although these Acts were supposed to operate equally against employers and employees, not a single employer was ever prosecuted; many thousands of workers were gaoled, transported and even executed. English Combinations Acts, although they had even then long since been repealed in England, were invoked to convict and imprison Australian trade unionists during the great Maritime Strike in 1891.

COMBINE: See Monopoly.

COMMODITY:

A product of labor which satisfies some human want, and produced for sale on the market. Every commodity possesses value and use-value. "nothing can have value without being an object of utility. If the thing is useless, so is the labor contained in it; the labor does not count as labor, and

therefore creates no value” (Marx).

The dominant feature of capitalist society is the production of goods as commodities. “The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities, its unit being a single commodity” (Marx). “In the value form of the product (i.e., commodity), as in a folded bud, lies the whole form of capitalist production, the antagonism between capital and wage-labor, the industrial reserve army and crises” (Engels).

COMMUNISM:

The society which develops from Socialism. Lenin describes Socialism and Communism as follows:

“If we were to ask ourselves in what way Communism differs from Socialism, we would have to reply that Socialism is the society which grows directly out of capitalism, that it is the first form of the new society. Communism, on the other hand, is a higher form of society which can develop only when Socialism has taken firm hold. Socialism implies the performance of work without the aid of capitalism; it implies social labor accompanied by the strictest accounting, control and supervision on the part of the organised vanguard, the most advanced section of the toilers. Moreover, it implies that standards of labor and the amount of compensation for labor must be determined. They must be determined because capitalist society has left us such relics and habits as uncoordinated labor, lack of confidence in social economy, the old habits of the small producer, which prevail in all peasant countries. All these run counter to a real Communist economy. Communism, on the other hand, is the name we apply to a system under which people become accustomed to the performance of public duties without any specific machinery of compulsion, when unpaid work for the common good becomes the general phenomenon” (Lenin). (See State.)

“In a higher phase of Communist society, after the enslaving subordination of individuals under the division of labor, and there- with also the antithesis between mental and physical labor, has vanished; after labor, from a mere means of life, has itself become the prime necessity of life; after the productive forces have increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more

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abundantly - only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left behind and society inscribe on its banners: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'!" (Marx).

Primitive Communism: The mode of production in the first stages of history when men lived in small groups or communities, and when labor in common, inevitable for that early period, "led to the common ownership of the means of production, as well as of the fruits of production" (History C.P.S.U.). The primitiveness of production precluded any conception of private ownership of the means of production; nor could there be class divisions or class exploitation.

COMMUNIST PARTY:

Party of the proletariat; party of the Proletarian Revolution. The highest form of working-class organisation. It is the vanguard party which leads and guides the struggles of the proletariat and all the toilers for better conditions and, ultimately, to Socialism. It is the workers' own political party as opposed to all the old parties founded by and/or serving the possessing classes. Recruited from most sincere, militant, courageous workers (and also from other classes and groups in society) who recognise in the Communist Party the one force that can organise and lead the toiling masses to freedom. "The Party must absorb all the best elements of the working-class, their experience, their revolutionary spirit, and their unbounded devotion to the cause of the proletariat" (Stalin). Membership requires:

1. Acceptance of programme; 2. Payment of dues; 3. Activity. All Party organisations are built on the principles of democratic centralism. (See International.)

"Only those who carefully study, ponder over and independently solve the problems and destiny of their Party deserve to be called Party members and builders of the workers' Party". "(the real Communist) should not be a trade union secretary, but a tribune of the people, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects" (Lenin).

COMPLACENCY:

Opportunist slackening off in working-class activity reflecting an underestimation of the power of capitalism; failure to recognise that the least passivity in the class struggle benefits capitalism, and also, that

every successful working-class action evokes an attempt at counter-action by the capitalists. "We must put an end to opportunist complacency, arising from the mistaken presupposition that, in proportion to the growth of our forces, the enemy will grow ever tamer and more inoffensive. It's no business of the Bolsheviks to rest on their laurels and stand around gaping. It is not complacency that we need, but vigilance, real Bolshevik revolutionary vigilance" (Stalin). "There's no such thing (for the capitalists) as absolutely inextricable positions" (Lenin).

COMPROMISE:

The surrender of certain demands, either minor or fundamental, to the capitalists. Communists are inflexibly opposed to compromise on any fundamental aim or demand. Reformism is, in essence, a policy of compromise on fundamentals, on the basic principles of the Labor Movement, with the class enemy. (See Social Democracy.)

Compromises which involve no concession in principle are permissible, and indeed unavoidable. These are agreements implying the surrender of certain local or immediate demands; these agreements are dictated by objective conditions which Communists must enter into with "neutral" and even hostile forces, precisely for the purpose of preserving and strengthening the Labor Movement and its Socialist objective. "The whole history of Bolshevism, both before and after the October Revolution, is full of instances of manoeuvring, temporising and compromising with other parties, bourgeois parties included!" (Lenin).

In analysing any situation with a compromise in view, vigilance must be exercised against the least concession in principle, i.e., opportunist betrayal. In a strike "every proletarian notices the difference between a compromise which one is compelled to enter into by objective conditions (such as lack of strike funds, no outside support, extreme hunger and exhaustion), a compromise which in no way lessens the revolutionary devotion and readiness for further struggle, and a compromise by traitors who ascribe to objective reasons their own selfishness (strike-breakers also effect a 'compromise!'), their cowardice, their desire to fawn upon the capitalists and their readiness to yield to threats, sometimes to persuasion, sometimes to sops, and sometime to flattery on the part of the capitalists" (Lenin).

CONCILIATOR:

In the Party, one who advocates agreement with, i.e., concessions to, members who have clearly indicated their opposition to Party policy. Conciliationism is very dangerous because, under the specious plea of “preserving Party unity,” the opportunity is given to deviators and opportunists to propagate their anti- Marxist views. Also, one who avoids struggle against anti-Marxist views and those responsible for them.

CONDITIONS (of the Toilers):

The economic and social standards of the toiling masses, both in the home capitalist lands and in the countries dominated by imperialism, which always serve as the starting point of the movements for their emancipation.

CONTRADICTION:

In dialectics; “the conflict of different forces and tendencies reacting on a given body, or inside a given phenomenon, or within a given society” (Lenin); the contradiction imparts the “inner impulse” for movement, for development. “Development is the ‘struggle’ of opposites” (Lenin). (See Unity and Struggle of Opposites.)

CO-OPERATIVES (Consumers' Co-operatives):

Associations of workers and others on low incomes to secure reduction of living costs through their own enterprises for the purchase and distribution of goods (foodstuffs, clothing, etc.) and services (insurance, burial societies, etc.). The early founders believed that co-operatives would eventually “supplant capitalism” - an illusion that still persists among some workers.

As independent organisations of the working class, and as adjuncts of the trade unions, etc., in the struggle against capitalist exploitation, the co-operatives possess importance. But by themselves, they cannot “supplant capitalism”; this is a revolutionary task. In real fact, isolation of the co-operative movements from the general struggle of the workers against capitalism would result, because of competition for jobs, in a reduction of the value of labor- power (i.e., wages) corresponding to the reduction of living costs.

CORPORATION: See Monopoly.

“CORPORATIVE STATE”:

A fascist conception, of society, realised substantially in Italy during Mussolini's regime; also advocated by clericalism. Its essential idea is the organisation of the national economy through corporations covering the various industries, the managements to consist of representatives of the employers, the government and the employees - in other words, the destruction of the trade unions and all other independent working-class bodies; it differs from the Nazi “Labor Front” only in unessentials. “We have indicated how a sound prosperity is to be restored according to the true principles of a sane corporative system which respects the proper hierarchical structure of society” (Papal Encyclical, “Divini Redemptoris,” 1937.)

CREDIT:

The purchase of commodities, to be paid for after a fixed period of time. “With the development of circulation, conditions arise under which the alienation of commodities becomes separated, by an interval of time, from the realisation of their prices” (Marx). Frequently, payment cannot be made on the set date; hence, “the possibility of crises, which is already inherent in the function of. money, as a means of circulation, becomes still more acute” (Leontiev).

CRISES (Capitalist Crisis of Overproduction):

The disruption of the process of production, which occurs periodically in capitalism, because the toilers cannot buy the commodities produced by their labor. Crises are inevitable because of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism - social production but private appropriation. “The ultimate cause of all real crises is the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as compared with the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces in such a way that only the absolute consuming power of society would be their limit” (Marx).

“Modern bourgeois society, with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the

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conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on its trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises a great part, not only of the existing products, but also the previously created productive forces are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all other epochs, would have seemed an absurdity - the epidemic of overproduction. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed. And why? Because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and as soon as they overcome these fetters they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the conditions of existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand, by enforced destruction of a mass of production forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets and by the more thorough exploitation of the old one; that is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented" (Manifesto of the Communist Party).

Cyclical Crisis: The economic crisis which occurs at intervals throughout the history of capitalism. "Capitalist crises are distinguished by their periodicity, i.e., they occur at regular intervals of time" (Leontiev). The first crisis in capitalism occurred in 1825; then, in 1836, 1847, 1857, 1890, 1900, 1907, 1920-21, 1929-32. These later cyclical crises continue within the framework of the General Crisis of Capitalism (i.e., the crises of 1920-21, 1929-32 and the one which began in 1937 but which was "headed off" by diversion of industry to armaments).

General Crisis of Capitalism: The extreme intensification of all the contradictions of capitalism now (i.e., in the epoch of imperialism) expressed on a world-wide scale. The General Crisis, which began with the imperialist World War 1914-18, is the epoch of the revolutionary transformation of the old exploiting order of capitalism to the new social order of Socialism.

CRITICISM (AND SELF-CRITICISM):

The Communist Party's democratic method and practice of objective examination of successes, mistakes, victories and failures, i.e., the work of the Party as a whole, or of its organs or individual members. In essence, criticism is one aspect of co-operation by which Party organs and members advance the cause of the workers; hence, it is constructive. Special features are the right to criticise, the comradely spirit of Communist criticism, its effectiveness because of the ability Communists acquire through political activity and study, and the lessons gained by analysis of mistakes. Communist criticism is contrasted with criticism within bourgeois society and bourgeois organisations, which derives from the cutthroat competition of capitalism, is devoid of the spirit of cooperation, and therefore becomes entirely, or almost entirely, subjective and destructive. Self-Criticism: Political analysis of a mistake by the Party as a whole, or the Party organ or the member(s) responsible for it. Self-criticism reveals whether there is a correct Communist attitude towards mistakes, and whether the necessary lessons have been drawn.

“The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is, and how it in practice fulfils its obligations towards its class and the toiling masses” (Lenin).

CULTURE:

The arts, methods and techniques by which humanity satisfies its needs and gives expression to what it experiences and to what it aspires; the sum total of the significant achievements and the accumulation of knowledge in mankind's past, and conceived of as the only basis for further development.

The culture of any epoch reflects the main characteristics of contemporary society, specifically, its mode of production. “In every epoch the ruling ideas have been the ideas of the ruling class” (Marx).

By “humanism” (or humanist culture) is meant the tradition and militant spirit which, especially since the Renaissance, has asserted the rights of man, indeed common man, as against the claims of the powerful and wealthy, and rejected metaphysical conceptions of man's present status and his future in favor of the immediate and the “this-worldliness” of his

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interests. The most advanced culture, therefore, is the one which reflects, and organises, the interests of that section of society which contributes most to social progress as a whole; thus, the artists, inventors, writers, discoverers, etc., of the Renaissance (14th-16th centuries); the revolutionary bourgeoisie of 18th century France; to-day, the proletariat. (See Materialist Conception of History.)

“Proletarian culture is not something that has sprung from nowhere. Proletarian culture must be the result of the natural development of the stores of knowledge which mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist society, landlord society and bureaucratic society” (Lenin).

CYCLICAL CRISIS: See Crisis.

DEMAGOGUE:

A person in the Labor Movement who on behalf of capitalism and/or in his own personal interests, misleads the workers by promises which are unrealisable, by misrepresentation of conditions and events, and by appealing to backward tendencies among workers. The term is also applied to corrupt individuals anywhere in society whose demagoguery obstructs the efforts of those working for social progress. (See “Left”.)

DEMOCRACY:

Political organisation and practice (majority rule, etc.) by which classes strengthen themselves for the struggle to advance their economic interests; hence, democracy expresses the existence of classes and of class struggles. Democracy cannot be conceived of in general terms; it is relative, qualified, according to time and social development, e.g., in the ancient Greek democracy, only the ruling classes and some sections of the free citizenry participated in political affairs. “Bourgeois democracy, with its formal equality of all citizens before the law, is in reality based on a glaring material and economic inequality or classes. By leaving inviolable, by defending and strengthening the monopoly of the capitalist and landlord classes in the vital means of production, bourgeois democracy, as far as the exploited classes and especially the proletariat are concerned, converts this formal equality before the law and these democratic rights and liberties, into a juridical fiction, and consequently into a means for deceiving and enslaving the masses” (Programme of the Communist International). The participation of the masses in capitalism in politics (elections and other elements of freedom) does not alter the essential fact, namely, that capitalist democracy is a democracy for the rich; that

capitalist democracy is a veiled dictatorship. (See Soviet.)

“Just as Socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy” (Lenin).

Note: In its formal aspects, democracy centres around ‘the problem of “control by the mass of its representative institutions and full-time officials” (Lenin); “the first condition of all freedom, namely, is that all functionaries be responsible for all their official acts to every citizen before the ordinary courts, and according to common law” (Engels). Comparison of social conditions in the Soviet Union, where the toilers enjoy full power, with the limited democracy of capitalist countries explains why the former is “a million times more democratic than the most advanced capitalist democracies of the west” (Lenin).

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM:

The principle of organisation of the Communist Party which provides both for the vesting of the necessary authority in the leading organs, and the highest democratic practice. Democracy and centralisation comprise a dialectical unity; they are complementary; each enriches and strengthens the other, thereby guaranteeing the Party’s maximum efficiency for its vanguard role. (See Discipline.) In Party practice, Democratic Centralism means that: - 1. “All directing bodies of the Party, from top to bottom, shall be elected; 2. “Party bodies shall give periodical accounts of their activities to their respective Party organisations; 3. “There shall be strict Party discipline and the subordination of the minority to the majority; 4. “All decisions of the higher bodies shall be absolutely binding on lower bodies and on all Party members” (History C.P.S.U.).

DEVIATION:

In the Communist Party “a tendency, an inclination, not yet formulated, it is true, and perhaps not yet consciously realised, but nevertheless a tendency on the part of a section of the Communists to depart from the revolutionary line of Marxism in the direction of Social-Democracy” (Stalin).

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Left Deviation (Left Sectarianism): An overestimation of the power of the capitalists, i.e., an absence of faith in the capacity of the workers for successful struggle against capitalism, resulting in failure to organise and lead the struggle, and hence “adventurism and ‘superman’ leaps in the sphere of policy” (Stalin). (See Provocation, Sectarianism.)

Right Deviation (Right Opportunism): An underestimation of the power of the capitalists, i.e., the advocacy within the Party of policies, allegedly Marxist, but which in real fact “tone down” the class struggle, grant fundamental concessions to capitalism, tend towards the submergence of the Party, and generally “add to the conditions necessary for the preservation of capitalism” (Stalin). Example in U.S.A.: Browderist Right deviations, begun in 1933, which ended in 1944 in the liquidation of the Party. In the Soviet Union: In opposition to the Party policy of building Socialism by speedy industrialisation and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, the Right Deviators (1928-33) advocated slowing down the tempo of the industrialisation and the encouragement of the kulaks to enrich themselves. In Australia: The Kavanagh-Ryan-Higgins leadership (1926-29) with its “theory” of exceptionalism (i.e., that Australia would not be involved in the world economic crisis forecast in 1928 by the Comintern), its policy of tailing behind the Australian Labor Party, refusal to organise the struggle around wages and conditions, and, generally, its trend towards liquidationism.

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM:

“The world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist party. It is called dialectical materialism because its approach to the phenomena of nature, its method of studying and apprehending them, is dialectical, while its interpretation of the phenomena of nature, its conception of these phenomena, is materialistic” (History C . P . S . U .) (See Dialectics, Materialism.)

DIALECTICS:

“The science of the general laws of motion, both of the external world and of human thought” (Engels). The dialectical method of studying and apprehending the phenomena of nature is by taking “things and their perceptual images essentially in their inter-connection, in their concatenation, in their movement, in their rise and disappearance” (Engels).

The three basic laws of Dialectics are: - 1. Unity and Struggle of Opposites: Internal contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena of nature,

“for they all have their negative and positive sides, a past and a future, something dying away and something developing; and the struggle between these opposites constitutes the internal content of the process of development” (History C.P.S.U.). (See Contradiction.) “In its proper meaning, dialectics is the study of the contradiction with- in the very essence of things” (Lenin).

The basic contradiction in capitalist society is between the productive forces and the relations of production - production is social but appropriation is private (“the social product is appropriated by the individual capitalist” - Engels). This contradiction is expressed in the antagonism of classes, in the class struggle which is the immediate driving force in history (the “self-movement” of history), which determines the course of social development.

Note: Not all contradictions are antagonistic. In capitalism, the contradictions of the basic classes are antagonistic and are resolved in antagonistic form. Contrast this, however, with the contradiction between the proletariat and the peasantry in Soviet Russia from the period of the October Revolution up to the triumph of collectivisation in 1932: the former was Socialist in regard to mode of production, the latter individualist. But the contradiction was expressed, not in antagonism, but in friendly co-operation between the two classes, and finally resolved (or, the contradiction was destroyed) by the successful extension of Socialist production to agriculture.

Other examples of Unity and Struggle of Opposites: -

In the class struggle: The proletariat is “the basis and upbuilder” of capitalism, and, at the same time, its destroyer, its “grave-digger”; also fascism, which expresses both the power of capitalism (in being able to suppress the workers’ organisations) and, at the same time, the extreme decline of the power of capitalism (in that even capitalist democracy, limited as it is for the toilers; has to be replaced by fascist terror rule).

In physics: The atom is revealed to be a contradictory unity of positive and negative electricity.

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In biology: The growth of the organism with continuous break- up of tissues: - "life and death, emergence and annihilation, assimilation and dissimilation. are found to be side by side and to inter- penetrate each other both in the life of organisms and in the life of every cell."

In organic evolution: The contradictory unity of heredity and variability (differences between members of a genus, mutations and "sports").

In the history of technique: "The emergence of contradictions between the machine and the material of which it is made. and the continual contradiction between the motive machine that provides the power, the transmissive mechanism, and the machine that does the 'tool' end of the process" (Textbook of Marxist Philosophy).

"The reflection of nature in man's thought must not be understood in a 'dead manner,' 'abstractly,' without movement, without contradiction, but as an eternal process of movement, as the emergence of contradictions and their resolution" (Lenin).

2. Transition of Quantity into Quality: The process of development in nature and society "which passes from insignificant and imperceptible quantitative changes to open fundamental changes, to qualitative changes; a development in which the quantitative changes occur not gradually, but rapidly and abruptly, taking the form of a leap from one state to another; they occur not accidentally, but as the natural result of an accumulation of imperceptible and gradual quantitative changes" (History C.P.S.U.).

Examples of the leap ("revolutionary leap") from one state to another: -

In physics: "The temperature of water has at first no effect on its liquid state; but as the temperature of liquid water rises or falls, a moment arrives when this state of cohesion changes and the water is converted in one case into steam and in the other into ice" (Engels).

In economics: "Not every sum of money, or of value, is transformable into capital; before this transformation can be effected there must be a definite minimum of money or exchange-value in the hands of an individual owner of money or commodities" (Marx).

In the class struggle: At first, the proletarians are few in numbers, disunited, and without consciousness of their historical mission to replace capitalism with the new order of Socialism, "but with the development of

industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows and it feels that strength more" (Manifesto of the Communist Party). Trade unions and other working- class organisations are formed; the Socialist consciousness is injected into the Labor Movement, and Socialism becomes its fundamental aim. Thus, a new quality emerges. From being the "basis and upbuilder" of capitalism, the proletariat, now sufficiently advanced in numbers and guided by revolutionary theory, becomes the "gravedigger" of capitalism.

(Note: At this point it is useful to consider the relation of this law to the other laws of dialectics, e.g., the unity and struggle of opposites constitutes the internal content of the process of development, the internal content of the transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes. These laws, therefore, are not "separate" from one another; they describe different aspects of "motion, both of the external world and of human thought").

3. Negation of Negation: In the evolution of nature and society the phase of development which supersedes (destroys, overcomes) the specific form of the contradiction of its predecessor, but which itself constitutes a new contradiction and by this means prepares its own negation.

Example from nature: "The (barley) seed, as such, vanishes, is negated and in its place there appears a plant - the negation of the seed. But what is the normal cycle of the life of this plant? It grows, flowers, is fertilised and finally produces barley seeds again; when these are ripe, the stalk withers, for now its turn has come to be negated. The result of this negation is that we have our barley seed again, not one, however, but more than a hundred" (Engels).

Example from society: "The capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the capitalist mode of production, produces capitalist private property. This is the first negation of individual private property, as founded on the labor of the proprietor. But capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of nature, its own negation. It is the negation of negation" (Marx).

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Note: The dialectical development of nature and society is on an ascending scale from lower to higher forms ("development in a spiral, not in a circle"). The second negation re-establishes some essential feature of the initial state or process, but in an advanced form. The greater quantity of the barley seeds provides for the emergence of qualitatively improved seeds, "and every repetition of that process, every new negation of negation will further enhance the quality" (Engels). The Communist society of the future will be characterised, as was primitive Communism, by common ownership; but social life will function on a much higher plane because of the tremendous advances in productive technique throughout the historic period.

"A true, natural, historical and dialectical negation is (formally) the initial impulse of every development - the division into opposites, their conflict and resolution, in which (in history partly, in thought fully), on the basis of actual experience, the starting-point is reached anew, but at a higher stage" (Engels).

DICTATORSHIP:

Rule by force of one class over another, or over other classes. In the capitalist democracies, we have the concealed dictatorship of the capitalists; in fascist countries, the open terrorist dictatorship of the big capitalists. Proletarian Dictatorship is the open dictatorship of the proletariat (in alliance with other toilers, the vast majority) over the former exploiting minority of capitalists and landlords. Note: The word has no reference to rule by one man or by a small clique or party. (See Democracy, Class Struggle.)

DIFFERENTIAL RENT: See Rent.

DISCIPLINE:

In the Communist Party, the voluntary, i.e., conscious assumption by members of duties and responsibilities in the interests of the struggle for class emancipation. In contrast with the "barrack-room" discipline which capitalism seeks to inject into the workshop as well as the army, Communist discipline is characterised by the greatest democracy, by theoretical training and participation in the struggles of the masses which strengthens that democracy, and by the spirit of comradeship associated with every historical movement against oppression. (See Democratic Centralism, Faction).

DOUGLAS CREDIT:

One of several “credit reform” (or currency or money reform) movements which attained a passing popularity among sections of the middle class in a few countries following the 1929-32 depression. Such movements arise frequently in the history of capitalism, one 17th century example being noted in Marx’s “Capital.” “Money reformers” of all kinds, among their many other errors, look for the root of society’s economic ills in distribution, and not in production, i.e., the private ownership of the means of production. They deny that money is also a commodity possessing value; hence their proposed remedy through “costless creation of credit” and other fantasies.

From the first days of the Douglas movement, but especially in recent years, the founder, Major Douglas, and his associates in “economic” theory achieved notoriety as purveyors of fascist, anti- Semitic and anti- Labor propaganda.

ECLECTICISM:

In philosophy, the method of analysis of a phenomenon in nature or society which selects only one or several aspects, or sides, or properties, and which is guided largely or exclusively by what is most customary, or most often noted. Eclecticism is in contrast with the dialectical method, which demands that analysis embrace the inner development (“self-movement”) of a phenomenon, all its sides, connections, changes, etc. “We shall never achieve this completely, but the demand for all-sidedness is a safeguard against mistakes and rigidity” (Lenin).

“ECONOMIC DETERMINISM”:

The view, falsely attributed to Marx and Engels and to later Communists, that all social, philosophical, ethical, religious, etc., developments are determined solely by economic factors. “The determining element in history is ultimately the production and reproduction in real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted” (Engels). (See Materialist Conception of History.)

ECONOMISM:

A trend in the Russian Labor Movement at the end of the last century characterised by a “combination of pettifogging practice and utter disregard for theory” (Lenin). (See Spontaneity.) The Economists urged

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that the workers should carry on the economic struggle, and the “Marxian intelligentsia merge with the liberals (capitalists) for political ‘struggle’” (Lenin).

EMPIRIO-CRITICISM:

An anti-Marxist philosophical trend advocated by a section of the Party intelligentsia in pre-Revolutionary Russia, which reflected their “decadence and scepticism” in the period following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution. Allegedly Marxist: - in fact, declaring they were “defending” Marxism - the empirio-criticism conducted a veiled and hypocritical campaign against the philosophical foundation of Marxist theory, dialectical materialism. In epistemology, empirio-criticism derived from the virtually open idealist philosophy of the Austrian physicist and philosopher, Ernest Mach, who argued that, not things but “sounds, pressures, spaces, times (what we usually call sensations), are the actual elements of the world.” Co-founder with Mach of empirio-criticism was the German philosopher Richard Avenarius, who used a bizarre terminology to present his ideas (he sought to create a symbolic language for philosophy as in mathematics). “He attacks Kant not from the left, as the materialists do, but from the right in the manner of the sceptics and idealists” (Lenin).

In contrast with the dialectical approach to the study of phenomena, which “takes things and their perceptual images essentially in their inter-connection, in their concatenation, in their movement, in their rise and disappearance” (Engels), empiricism narrows down the study to more or less immediate sense-data, and an equally limited method of interpretation. (Put somewhat simply, empiricism is a “rule-of-thumb” method.) And however “critical” it professes to be, empiricism remains limited and one-sided, i.e., just another of the countless variants of idealism. (See Eclecticism.) “The objective class role of empirio-criticism reduced itself to nothing but that of servitor of the fideists in their struggle against materialism in general and historical materialism in particular” (Lenin).

ENTREPRENEUR:

French word which may be translated “enterpriser”; in capitalism a person who invests his capital in land, machinery and labor- power for the production of commodities for the market.

EPISTEMOLOGY:

In philosophy, the theory of knowledge; the study of the basis and methods of man's knowledge of the world; also gnosiology, theory of cognition, etc. "Marxist philosophical materialism holds that the world and its laws are fully knowable, that our knowledge of the laws of nature, tested by experiment and practice, is authentic knowledge having the validity of objective truth, and that there are no things in the world which are unknowable, but only things which are still not known, but which will be disclosed and made known by the efforts of science and practice" (History C.P.S.U.).

"EQUALITARIANISM":

The notion, falsely ascribed to Communist theory, that the establishment of Socialism will mean "complete equality" for all citizens in wages and in the general standards of living. This is impossible; inequality in income will continue inevitably after Socialism because some will contribute more than others to the common pool, and hence will receive more. But as Socialist production develops, and in proportion as the disparity between skilled and unskilled labor diminishes, so too will income levels throughout society tend to equalise. But this very process itself will mark the change-over from Socialism to Communism, under which the old economic categories and the social conceptions of a past society - wages, incomes, equality and inequality, etc. - will be completely disappearing, or "withering away." There will be no "incomes" of any kind in the Communist society in which each will contribute according to his ability, and receive according to his needs. Hence, "the cry for an equality of wages rests, therefore, upon a mistake, is an insane wish never to be fulfilled" (Marx).

EXCHANGE:

The sale and purchase of commodities on the market.

EXCHANGE VALUE:

"The value of a commodity expressed in comparison with the value of another commodity" (Leontiev). The external, or phenomenal, form of value, "the only form in which the value of commodities can manifest itself or be expressed" (Marx). "Exchange value (or simply, value) presents itself first of all as the proportion, the ratio, in which a certain number of use values of one kind are exchanged for a certain number of use values of

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another kind" (Lenin).

EXPLOITATION:

The extraction by the owners of the means of production of surplus value, or surplus labor, from the toiling masses. "Capital did not invent surplus labor" (Marx); slavery and feudalism are also exploiting systems.

FACTION:

A grouping of individuals within the Communist Party around one or more specific "lines" of difference with the policy of the Party. "The existence of factions is incompatible with Party unity leads to the creation of a number of centres, and the existence of a number of centres connotes the absence of a common centre in the Party; a breach in the unity of will, the weakening and disintegration of the Proletarian Dictatorship. This does not mean, of course, that the possibility of a conflict of opinion within the Party is thus excluded. On the contrary, iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes criticism and conflicts of opinion within the Party. Least of all does it mean that this discipline must be blind discipline. On the contrary iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes conscious and voluntary submission, for only conscious discipline can be truly iron discipline. But after a discussion has been closed, after criticism has run its course and a decision has been made, unity of will and unity of action of all Party members become indispensable conditions without which Party unity and iron discipline in the Party are inconceivable" (Stalin).

FASCISM:

Open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary section of the monopoly capitalists. Two main features are: (1) At home, brutal suppression of democratic rights of masses and the enslavement of all toilers; (2) abroad, wars of spoliation and conquest, prepared for and carried through by "totalitarian" organisation of nation, by "bestial chauvinism," abandonment of every moral principle, extinction of other States, wholesale massacres and enslavement of entire nations. Nazism was the name of the fascist regime introduced into Germany by Hitler and his followers. (See Fifth Column.)

FEMINISM:

One of the various liberal movements associated with the expansion of capitalism in the 19th century, designed to secure social and legal equality for women, but in actual fact expressing the interests and outlooks of property-owning middle and upper-class women; hence, feminism can

have no basis among working-class women.

Beyond producing some useful propaganda to counter feudal, clerical and similar reactionary views (e.g., “woman’s place is in the home”), feminism is itself harmful by its- rejection of the class struggle, i.e., it rejects the only road to women’s emancipation through united struggle of all toilers, irrespective of sex, nationality, etc. (See Liberalism.)

“Not a single democratic party in the world, not even in the most advanced bourgeois republic, has done in tens of years a hundredth part of what we did on the very first year we were in power. In the literal sense of the word, we did not leave a single brick standing of the despicable laws which placed women in a state of inferiority compared with men”. “Woman continues to be a domestic slave, because petty housework crushes, strangles, stultifies and degrades her, chains her to the kitchen and to the nursery, and wastes her labor on barbarously unproductive, petty, nerve-racking, stultifying and crushing drudgery” (Lenin).

FETISHISM OF COMMODITIES:

In developed commodity production, the domination of man by the products of his own labor. In savage society, trees, stones or articles produced by man are vested with magical properties; they become objects of worship, fetishes, i.e., they dominate man. “There is a physical relation between things. But it is different with commodities. There it is a definite social relation between men, that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things.” “As one of the earlier economists said, value is a relationship between two persons, only he should have added that it is a relationship hidden beneath a material wrapping” (Marx).

FEUDALISM:

The social order which preceded capitalism, its main characteristic being the exploitation of the mass of peasantry by the feudal nobility. Feudalism prevailed throughout the Middle Ages, undergoing various forms of development in different countries. Its final stage, especially in eastern Europe, caused by the advance of commodity exchange, was serfdom, in which exploitation of the peasantry was of the severest kind, little different from slavery. “The basis of the relations of production under the feudal system is that the feudal lord owns the means of production and does not fully own the worker in production, i.e., the serf, whom the

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feudal lord can no longer kill, but whom he may buy and sell” (History C.P.S.U.).

Existing side by side with feudalism, and presaging its later replacement by the capitalist mode of production, were such social elements and forces as the guilds, growth of the towns, advance of commerce, establishment of the banks, emergence of the bourgeoisie (burghers, burgesses), the appearance of manufactories along- side of the handicraft workshops.

FIDEISM:

The reactionary trend in philosophy which holds faith, intuition - or “instinct” above science. (See Idealism.)

FIFTH COLUMN:

Organised body in non-Axis country which served as agents for Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese militarist-fascists; the “advance guard of the fascist invasion.” Methods included espionage, disruption, support for reaction, wrecking and murder, and preparations to open gates to the enemy. Most notorious Fifth Columnists were: Quisling in Norway, Petain-Laval in France, Degrelle in Belgium, Mussert in Holland, the “Bund,” Father Coughlin, etc., in U.S.A., Monsignor Tiso in Slovakia, the “Australia First” movement in this country, and the Trotskyists everywhere. The military defeat of the Axis fascist States in 1945 by no means brought about the political and moral defeat of fascism throughout the world. If the fascist and pro-fascist groups in the various capitalist countries are no longer Fifth Columns in the old sense, they continue as centres of anti-Labor and anti-democratic activity, serve the remaining fascist regimes, act as agents of reactionary imperialist policy, and as possible nuclei for new mass fascist organisations.

Note: Term derives from the siege of Madrid in the Spanish War. Fascist general Mola boasted: “We are attacking Madrid with four columns; we have a fifth column inside the city” - a reference to the Trotsky-fascist forces co-operating with General Franco.

FINANCE-CAPITAL:

Giant banks closely welded to the monopolist industrial associations; the merging, or fusion of banking and industrial capital. The amalgamation of bank capital with industrial monopolies is one of the distinctive attributes of imperialism. Imperialism is “the epoch of Finance-Capital.”

“The growth of monopoly and the growth of finance-capital put the entire fate of the capitalist world in the hands of small groups of the biggest capitalists. The merging of bank capital with industrial capital brings about a situation where the biggest bankers begin to manage industry, and the biggest industrialists are admitted into bank directorates. The fate of the entire economic life of every capitalist country lies in the hands of a numerically insignificant group of bankers and industrial monopolists. And the arbiter of economic life is the arbiter of the whole country. Whatever the form of government in bourgeois countries in the epoch of imperialism, practically a few uncrowned kings of finance-capital have full power. The official State is only the servant of these capitalist magnates. The solution of the vital problems in all capitalist countries depends on a small group of the biggest capitalists” (Lenin).

FLUCTUATION (in Communist Party Membership):

Avoidable losses of members due principally to failure to provide them with an opportunity for suitable Party activity, precisely for which purpose they became members. “What is this fluctuation? It is a criticism of our sectarianism by the masses of sympathisers! As a rule, this sectarianism is expressed in the fact that excessive demands are immediately made of new members in the matter of organisation and discipline, demands they cannot fulfil. Furthermore, their work is badly organised, it is mostly of a technical nature, and so tedious that it can kill the most lively interest” (Kuusinen).

FRACTION:

Communists in any mass organisation who work in a planned way to influence and lead the members to a progressive policy for improvements of working and living standards, defence of democratic liberty, the struggle against imperialist war, and eventually to Socialism. Also used to describe similar groups of any party working in a non-party body.

GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM: See Crisis.

HANDICRAFTSMAN:

The industrial worker of the pre-capitalist era who owned his means of production and produced for the market. (See Wage Labor.)

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM: See Materialist Conception of History.

HUMANISM (Humanist Culture): See Culture.

IDEALISM:

The philosophy which asserts the primacy of spirit to nature; one of the “two main camps” in philosophy, the other being materialism. Idealism (a) regards the world as the embodiment of an “absolute idea,” “universal spirit,” “*élan vital*,” “creative force,” etc.; (b) declares the mind to be the basic reality, and that the material world, being, nature, exist only in the mind, in sensations, perceptions and ideas; (c) denies the possibility of authentic knowledge of nature and its laws, holding that the world contains “things-in- themselves” which can never be known to science. (See Epistemology.) Philosophical idealism expresses in the last analysis, the tendencies and ideology of the exploiting ruling classes. “Philosophical idealism is a road to clerical obscurantism” (Lenin). Note: Idealism in philosophy, i.e., in epistemology, must not be confused with idealism in the ethical or moral sense of the word. Ethically, idealism denotes devotion to a worthwhile cause, i.e., struggle for an objective which serves the cause of progressive humanity. Therefore Communists, who are philosophical materialists, are idealists, and the world’s foremost idealists, from the standpoint of scientifically-grounded ethical standards.

IDEOLOGY:

The ideas and outlooks expressing the interests of a class. In modern society there are only two ideologies - the capitalist and working class; a viewpoint that professes to be “neutral” or “above classes” objectively expresses the ideology, i.e., the interests, of the capitalists. Ideology may signify complete ignorance of the objective forces motivating one’s outlook and social action, e.g., the militant Protestant reformer of the 16th century who knew nothing of the specific historic force of that period (the emerging bourgeois democratic revolution) which constituted the actual basis of his struggle and, at the same time, was undermining the power of feudalism and of the greatest single feudal institution, the Roman Catholic church.

IMPERIALISM:

The highest, the last stage of capitalism; “the eve of the proletarian revolution” (Lenin); the period when “the Socialist revolution becomes a practical necessity” (Stalin).

Brief definition of Imperialism by Lenin: 1. The concentration of production and capital developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life. 2. The merging of bank capital with industrial capital and the creation, on the basis of this “finance-capital,” of a financial oligarchy. (See finance-capital.) 3. The export of capital, as distinguished from the export of commodities, becomes of particularly great importance. 4. International monopoly combines of capitalists are formed which divide up the world. 5. The territorial division of the world by the greatest capitalist powers is completed.

Note: Under (3) exporting capital (factories, railways, etc.) to the source of raw material creates in China, India and the other colonial lands a native proletariat and intelligentsia; the super-profits obtained by imperialist exploitation of the colonies is used to bribe the “labor aristocracy” at home; this upper stratum of better-paid workers provides the basis of Reformism.

Under (5) “when the division of the world is complete” the only way by which the imperialist powers can add to their possessions is through war; hence the inevitability of wars under imperialism for new fields of exploitation.

“The parasitic character of the bourgeoisie is manifested with particular clarity in the epoch of imperialism. The overwhelming majority of the bourgeoisie have absolutely no connection with the process of production. The majority of the capitalists are people who live by ‘clipping coupons.’ The capitalists have become owners of shares, bonds, government loans and other securities which bring them an income. Enterprises are managed by hired technical forces. The bourgeoisie and its numerous toadies (politicians, the bourgeois intelligentsia, the clergy, etc.) consume the products of the arduous labor of millions of hired slaves of capital. Entire countries (like Switzerland) or whole regions (in the south of France, Italy, parts of England) are turned into playgrounds for the international bourgeoisie where they spend their unearned incomes on mad luxury” (Leontiev).

The tendency to stagnation and decay is also evident in the retardation of technical progress, e.g., the pigeon-holing of inventions because of

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interference with monopolist profit-making - the exception, of course, being inventions for war purposes.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION:

The profound changes in industry at the end of the 18th century, specifically, the introduction of power-driven machinery, which ushered in the era of modern capitalism. England, its birthplace, possessed the necessary pre-conditions: (1) Accumulation of capital; (2) an adequate supply of "free" wage-labor; (3) the establishment of a world market; (4) resources of coal and iron; (5) the necessary inventions; (6) favorable transport conditions, both as the "geographical centre of international trade" and, within the country, the development of roads and canals.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (I.W.W.):

An anarcho-syndicalist trend in the Labor Movement which first made its appearance in U.S.A. in 1905. The I.W.W. in Australia played a leading militant role in the World War, 1914-18, not only in its opposition to conscription for the imperialist war, but in its efforts to organise the struggle against the war as a whole. Non-Marxist in theory and organisation, the I.W.W. collapsed under the blows of reaction, virtually disappearing from the scene following the frame-up of twelve of its members in 1916.

INFLATION:

The issue of paper money in quantities greater than is necessary for the circulation of commodities.

INSTRUMENTS OF PRODUCTION: See Production.

INTELLECTUALS ("Intelligentsia"):

Generally, educated middle-class persons in capitalist society, such as doctors, technicians, artists, etc., who are based economically on the capitalist class. In Marxist literature the term refers more particularly to non-proletarians who adopt the proletarian standpoint in the class struggle. Intellectuals do not compose a class, because in social origin they come from all classes and subclasses; ideologically, they have greater links with the capitalists than with the working class; they vacillate between workers and capitalists. Of the new Soviet intellectuals, Stalin said: "It is no longer the old hide-bound intelligentsia, which tried to place itself above classes, but which actually, for the most part, served the landlords and the capitalists. Our Soviet intelligentsia is an entirely new

intelligentsia, which by its very roots is bound up with the working class and the peasantry..Formerly it had to serve the wealthy classes, for it had no alternative.It is now an equal member of Soviet society in which, side by side with the workers and peasants, pulling together with them, it is engaged in building the new classless, Socialist society.”

INTEREST:

One of the three main forms of capitalist appropriation of surplus value, the other two being profit and rent; it is the part paid over by the industrial capitalist to the owner of money-capital from whom he borrowed money for use as capital, i.e., for production.

INTERNATIONAL:

First: Founded by Marx and Engels in 1864 under the name of International! Workingmen’s Association; its constituent members were working-class bodies of many countries who subscribed to the Socialist objective. Dissolved in 1872 after the defeat of the Paris Commune.

Second: Founded 1889, grew up in the “relatively peaceful development of capitalism, a pre-war period, so to speak, when the disastrous contradictions had not so obviously revealed themselves” (Stalin); marked by opportunism and capitulation to capitalism; betrayed the workers in the imperialist war of 1914-18 and the revolutions after the war; then aided capitalism during the economic crises, refusing united struggle against the capitalists and, later, against the fascists - in some cases (Germany, France, Belgium, etc.) many of their top leaders going over directly to fascism.

Third (Comintern): Founded 1919 under personal leadership of Lenin; world body of Communist Parties of all countries and of other working-class parties who subscribed to conditions of membership. Based on Marxist principles of class struggle and Proletarian Dictatorship. Last Congress (Seventh) in 1935, when Dimitrov, general secretary of Comintern, reported on the struggle for the unity of the working class against fascism. Disbanded 1943, its principal function of creating mass Communist Parties in the various countries having been fulfilled.

INTERNATIONALISM:

Working-class policy based on the understanding that the workers of all

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countries constitute a single class, with common interests and responsibilities for united struggle against-imperialism. (See Class Consciousness.) In contrast with bourgeois nationalism, international proletarian class solidarity demonstrates the principle and practice of unity in struggle for class emancipation and the national liberation of subjected peoples, and prepares for the “future amalgamation of the toilers of all countries into a single world economic system” (Stalin). The attitude of workers in the “white civilised” countries towards colored workers at home or in colonial lands is guided by Marx’s dictum: “Labor in a white skin cannot be free while it is branded in a black skin.” (See Chauvinism.)

JACOBINISM:

The consistently revolutionary tendency in the great French Revolution (1789-94), with its policy of “untrammelled democracy,” destruction of feudal fetters, and organisation of a people’s revolutionary war of defence of the country against the intervention-ist armies of the European counter-revolution. Though victorious over the latter, they were unable “to solve the problems set them by the economic crisis, unemployment and high prices. Hence their social basis was greatly narrowed and the bourgeoisie succeeded in overthrowing the Jacobins” (Editor’s Note, Marx-Engels Selected Correspondence).

In a tribute to the “great, ineradicable and unforgettable” achievements of the Jacobins, Lenin characterised the “essence of Jacobinism” as the struggle for, and the faith in, the transfer of power to the revolutionary oppressed class.

KULAK:

In Russia, the rich peasants against whose extortions and profiteering the new Soviet state had to wage a long difficult struggle. Kulaks were “exploiters and profiteers who used their surplus grain to enrich themselves at the expense of the starving non-agricultural parts of Russia” (Lenin). The triumph of the first Five Year Plan (1932) witnessed the liquidation of the kulaks as a class.

KUOMINTANG:

The government party of China representing the interests of the big bourgeoisie and big landowners. Formed in 1912 by a merger of the National Party of Dr. Sun Yat-sen with other groups, the Kuomintang played a certain progressive role, and indeed stood at the head of the

anti-imperialist revolution of 1925- 27. But the growth of the workers' and peasants' movements alarmed China's wealthy classes. In 1927 the Kuomintang betrayed the people's cause, and went over directly to the services of imperialism. Its record since then is one of oppression of the people, alliance with the Japanese invaders during the "extermination campaigns" (1928- 37) waged by Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists, and inefficiency, corruption and treachery right through the period of the military struggle against Japan (1937-45) when the Kuomintang was forced to unite with the Communists.

LABOR AND LABOR-POWER:

Labor-power is the capacity for labor which the laborer, to secure his means of subsistence, must be able to sell to the capitalist. Labor-power is a potential force only; it does not become exercised unless and until it's seller, i.e., the laborer, is set to work by its buyer, i.e., the capitalist. An unemployed worker possesses labor- power; one cannot speak of his labor, which does not exist. "When we speak of capacity for labor, we do not speak of labor, any more than when we speak of capacity for digestion, we speak of digestion. The latter process requires something more than a good stomach" (Marx).

"The capitalist buys labor-power in order to use it; and labor- power in use is labor itself. The purchaser of labor-power consumes it by setting the seller of it to work. By working, the latter becomes actually what before he was only potentially, labor-power in action, a laborer" (Marx).

Labor, therefore, being labor-power in action, i.e., producing commodities for the market, is the creator of value.

Wage Labor: The sale and purchase of labor-power, which characterises the relation between the capitalists and the workers. With the advent of capitalism, labor-power itself becomes a commodity. Historical development made the workers 'free' in a double sense of the term; free from any constraint or restriction as regards the sale of their labor-power; free from the land or from the means of production in general, i.e., the propertyless workers, or 'proletarians,' who cannot maintain their existence except by the sale of their labor- power" (Marx). The workers, Marx said, ought "to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword:

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‘Abolition of the wages system’!” (Leontiev). (See Wages.)

“The interests of capital and the interests of wage-labor are diametrically opposed to each other”. “To say that the interests of capital and the interests of the workers are identical signifies only this, that capital and wage-labor are two sides of one and the same relation. The one conditions the other in the same way that the user and the borrower condition each other” (Marx).

“**LABOR ARISTOCRACY**”: See Imperialism.

LABOR MOVEMENT:

The various workers’ organisations (political parties, trade unions, co-operatives, etc.) which represent their class interests and, essentially, the struggle for Socialism “the working class is revolutionary or it is nothing” (Marx).

Three other special features of the Labor Movement are: - (1) The historic conception, i.e., its beginning with the formation of the first organisations, the early combinations or trade unions, and its disappearance in history with the establishment of Socialism; (2) The qualitatively augmented strength which results from the united efforts of all sections of the Labor Movement in each country, and the unity of the Labor Movements of all countries. (See United Front, Internationalism); (3) The Communist Party is its vanguard.

LEFT:

General term for the Communist Party and other genuine militant and democratic bodies. When the word is used with quotes (“leftist”) it refers to irrational and “anarchistic” policy and behaviour which aids, not the workers, but the capitalists.

“Leftism” is also a device for concealing opportunism by means of pseudo-revolutionary talk and phrase-mongering. (See Demagogue, Deviation.)

LEFT DEVIATION: See Deviation.

LENINISM:

“Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. Or, to be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the

proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the proletarian dictatorship in particular” (Stalin). (See Marxism.)

LIBERALISM:

The trend in political life in a given country when capitalism is expanding, and the capitalists can afford - more accurately, they find it economically useful - to be liberal and democratic (e.g., the extended franchise in England in last century). Liberalism declines with the advent of crisis in capitalism. Marx frequently denounced the “liberal scoundrels and dogs of democrats” because of their consistent betrayal of genuine liberal and progressive movements. (Compare use of term “liberal” by Australian monopolists for the name of one of their parties with the words “National Socialist” adopted by Hitler for the name of his party). (See Democracy.)

LIQUIDATIONISM:

Opportunist policy which leads to the liquidation of the Party, and with it the Socialist Revolution. Also, the open advocacy of the liquidation of the Party on the pretext that its existence is no longer historically necessary for the further development of the Labor Movement, e.g., the Mensheviks, supported by Trotsky, in the period following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution. (See Deviation, Opportunism, Revisionism.)

LUMPEN-PROLETARIAT:

Proletarians who are maintained by the State or private charity, criminals and cithers debased in one way or another by the conditions of capitalist society (but none of the foregoing to be confused with unemployed workers). Lumpen-proletarians are included in the following passage of the Manifesto of the Communist Party: “The ‘dangerous class,’ the social scum, that passively rotten mass thrown off by the lowest layers of the old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by the proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.”

MARKET:

The link between commodity-owners for the exchange of their commodities. With only the rarest exceptions, all goods (and services) in capitalism present themselves as commodities. Labor- power too is a commodity, to sell which its owner, the wage- laborer, must find a buyer, i.e., an employer; hence the employment office of a factory is as much a

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market as a shop, bazaar or emporium. (For market prices as the regulator of commodity production, see Price.)

Home Market: "The home market appears when commodity production appears; it is created by the development of commodity production; and the degree to which social division of labor has taken place determines the height of its development. The degree of development in the home market is the degree of development of capitalism in the country". (Lenin.)

Foreign Market: "The fact that capitalism stands in need of a foreign market is explained, not by the impossibility of realising the product on the home market, but by the fact that capitalism is unable to repeat one and the same process of production in the same magnitude (as was the case under the pre-capitalist system), and that it inevitably leads to the unlimited growth of production which overflows the old narrow limits of previous economic units" (Lenin). (See Imperialism.)

MARXISM (Marxism-Leninism):

The theory and practice of the revolutionary working-class movement. The basic theory or world viewpoint of the proletariat propounded by Marx and Engels, and further developed by Lenin and Stalin. (See Leninism.)

"Marxism is the system of the views and teachings of Marx. Marx was the genius who continued and completed the three chief ideological currents of the nineteenth century, represented respectively by the three most advanced countries of humanity: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French Socialism combined with French revolutionary doctrine". "The main thing in the teaching of Marx is the elucidation of the world-wide historical role of the proletariat as the builder of a socialist society" (Lenin).

MATERIALISM:

The philosophy which asserts that the world exists independently of consciousness, sensation or experience. "matter is the objective reality given to us in sensation. Matter, nature - the physical - is primary; and spirit, consciousness, sensation - the psychical - is secondary" (Lenin).

Note: It is necessary to stress that matter, the outer world, things-in-themselves, which are given in sensation, are independent of sensation, i.e., they exist independently of humanity and of human experience. "The doctrine of the independence of the outer world from

consciousness (sensation, experience) is the fundamental proposition of materialism” (Lenin). (See Dialectics, Epistemology, Objective, Truth.)

“The question of the relation of thinking to being, the relation of spirit to nature, is the paramount question of the whole of philosophy. The answers which the philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to nature, and, therefore, in the last instance, assumed world creation in some form or other, comprised the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of materialism.” “Hegel was an idealist - that is to say, that thoughts within his mind were to him not the more or less abstract images of real things, but on the contrary, things and their development were to him only the images, made real, of the ‘Idea’ existing, somewhere or other, already before the world existed” (Engels).

Note: Philosophical materialism must not be confused with materialism in the ethical sense. “By the word materialism the philistine understands gluttony, drunkenness, lust of the eye, lust of the flesh, arrogance, cupidity, avarice, miserliness, profit-hunting and stock-exchange swindling - in short, all the filthy vices in which he himself indulges in private” (Engels).

MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY (Historical Materialism):

The consistent extension of “Marxist materialism to the study of social life, which regards the mode of production as the determining basis of the history of society and the origin of its politics, laws, social ideas, art, etc. (the “ideological superstructure”). “It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness” (Marx). “We make our own history, but in the first place under very definite presuppositions and conditions. Among these the economic ones are finally decisive. But the political, etc., ones, and indeed even the traditions which haunt human minds, also play a part, although not the decisive one” (Engels). “Historical materialism first made it possible to study with scientific accuracy the social conditions of the life of the masses and the changes in these conditions” (Lenin).

MEANS OF CONSUMPTION: See Production.

MEANS OF LIFE: See Production.

MEANS OF PRODUCTION: See Production.

MECHANISM:

Materialism in philosophy, but one which explains development only in terms of simple increase, diminution and repetition, and movement only as the result of collision of external forces; hence, an anti-dialectical materialism. (See Dialectics.)

Mechanism in philosophy developed in the 17th and 18th centuries along with, and reflecting, the growth of natural science; both represented the world outlook of the then revolutionary bourgeoisie in their struggle against feudal institutions and ideas. Mechanics was an outstanding achievement of the first phase of modern science. "This exclusive application of the standards of mechanics to processes of a chemical and organic nature - in which processes, it is true, the laws of mechanics are also valid, but are pushed into the background by other and higher laws - constitutes a specific but at that time inevitable limitation of classical French materialism. The second specific limitation of this materialism lay in its inability to comprehend the universe as a process - as matter developing in an historical process. This was in accordance with the level of the natural science of the time, and with the metaphysical, i.e., anti-dialectical, manner of philosophising connected with it" (Engels).

MENSHEVIK:

The reformist party in Tsarist Russia. Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, along with smaller bodies, constituted the Russian Social- Democratic Labor Party. In 1912 the Mensheviks were expelled by the Bolsheviks; they became violently anti-Soviet after the October Revolution.

Term also used to describe similar parties in other lands. (See Opportunism, Social-Democracy.)

METAPHYSICS:

In philosophy, an anti-dialectical method of studying the phenomena of nature by which "things and their mental reflexes, ideas, are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation fixed, rigid, given once for all" (Engels). (See Dialectics.) Term metaphysics first applied, about 70 B.C., to philosophical writings of Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) in regard to "matters above or beyond

physics,” i.e., not subject to scientific verification. (See Idealism, Fideism.)

MIDDLE CLASS: See Class.

MODE OF PRODUCTION: See Production.

MONEY:

The particular commodity that functions as a measure of value and as the medium of circulation. Money is “the universal representative of material wealth” (Marx).

Money came into use in history spontaneously, not by plan or agreement. At first various commodities (furs, cattle, rum, tobacco, etc.) functioned temporarily as money. “The particular kind of commodity to which it (the money-form of value) sticks is at first a matter of accident” (Marx). With the further development of exchange, one commodity becomes separated from all others to serve as a universal equivalent of value; the historical process of the development of exchange ends with the money-form of value when gold becomes this particular commodity. Money is the “highest product of the development of exchange and of community production” (Lenin).

Money, whether cattle or the precious metals, is a commodity like all other commodities, i.e., it is the embodiment of labor; it possesses value and use-value.

Money functions as: (a) A measure of value and standard of price; (b) The medium of circulation. (In this function, full value money - gold - can be replaced by its substitutes or symbols of itself, such as bank notes, paper currency, silver and copper coins); (c) A means of payment; (d) A means of accumulation or hoarding. (Hoarding is more usual in the early stages of capitalism; to-day the capitalist is driven to continuous reinvestment in and extension of his production); (e) Universal money, i.e., for adjusting trade between different countries. “Its function as a means of payment in the settling of international balances is its chief one” (Marx).

MONOPOLY:

Combination of capitalists who dominate to an enormous degree,

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sometimes even completely, the production of certain commodities. Monopoly capitalism is the era of the domination of the monopolies, which reflect the triumph of large-scale production and the concentration and centralisation of capital. The decade 1860- 1870 marks “the highest stage, the apex of development of free competition; monopoly is in the barely discernible, embryonic stage” (Lenin); by 1914 monopoly had become the foundation of the whole of economic life throughout the capitalist world.

But the creation and growth of monopolies does not abolish competition among capitalists. “Monopoly, which has grown out of free competition, does not abolish the latter, but exists alongside it and hovers over it, as it were, and as a result gives rise to a number of very acute antagonisms, frictions and conflicts.” “The substitution of monopoly for free competition is the fundamental feature, the quintessence of imperialism” (Lenin). Types of Monopoly: -

Cartel: An agreement among several enterprises covering mainly the prices at which their commodities are to be sold. Each firm remains otherwise independent.

Syndicate: A closer contact between the enterprises than in a cartel because the enterprises lose their commercial independence; sales, and sometimes purchases of raw materials, are handled by the syndicate.

Trust: An amalgamation of the different enterprises, whose owners become shareholders in the trust which is now one enterprise with a single management.

Combine: A “merging of individual enterprises connected in any way in the process of production. for instance, a metallurgical plant merges with a coal-mining enterprise which furnishes it with coal and coke” (Leontiev). A merger of these two with a third related industrial enterprise, say, a machine-construction plant, is called a “vertical combine.”

Corporation: A giant combination of monopolies and individual enterprises which cover the most varied, i.e., unrelated, forms of production (coal mines, cotton mills, shipping lines, newspapers, drugs, etc.). The development of the stockholding form of enterprise and the active participation and interference of banks provide the financial links for combining such whole groups of enterprises. (See Finance-Capital.)

NATION:

“A historically-evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological makeup manifested in a community of culture” (Stalin). Modern nations are a product of the epoch of rising capitalism. “The British, French, Germans and Italians formed into nations during the victorious march of capitalism and its triumph over feudal disunity” (Resolution, Russian Communist Party, 1921). Like every other historical phenomenon, a nation “is subject to the law of change, it has its history, its beginning and end” (Stalin).

NATIONALISATION:

Under capitalism, control of an industry or industries by the government on behalf of the capitalist class; the share- and bond- holders are guaranteed their capital investments and interest payments, e.g., the railways of New South Wales. Must not be confused with State ownership in the Soviet Union. (See State Capitalism, Socialism.) Note: In certain circumstances nationalisation of industries under capitalism may be necessary for the further advance of the Labor Movement, e.g., Lenin’s demand before the October Revolution, Australian Communist Party policy during and after the Second World War, and similar demands for nationalisation advocated, and adopted, in various countries following the defeat of the Axis powers.

NATIONALISM:

The policy of the capitalists in the sphere of relations of their own national State with other States, and towards subject, i.e., non- sovereign, peoples. Bourgeois nationalism, with its “gloomy picture of national enmity, inequality, oppression, conflict, war and imperialism brutality on the part of the nations of civilised countries, both towards each other and towards non-sovereign peoples” (Stalin), is the direct opposite of proletarian internationalism.

In the history of capitalism, bourgeois nationalism was a favorite means in the hands of the exploiting classes, both of the oppressor and oppressed nations, for injecting bourgeois ideology into the Labor Movement. Examples: - (1) The demand in the past for “national cultural autonomy” among the Irish, the Czechs in the Austro- Hungarian empire, the Jews in Tsarist Russia; and in recent times the demand of the Muslim League of India for Pakistan, i.e., the establishment of a state within India, covering

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all Muslims, irrespective of geographical and other factors; such “autonomy” means the domination among the toilers of the culture, and hence basically the interests, of their “own” bourgeoisie. (2) In Australia, the “White Australia” policy, and prejudice against Italians, Greeks, etc.

NEGATION OF NEGATION: See Dialectics.

NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (N.E.P.):

The policy introduced in Soviet Russia in 1921 which allowed a certain revival of capitalism, e.g., freedom of trade; its purpose was to help overcome the economic dislocation resulting from the imperialist World War and the struggle against foreign intervention. N.E.P. was restricted in scope, temporary, and wholly subordinated to the reconstruction policy of the Soviet government; it soon disappeared from the scene, being replaced by Socialist industry. “Only a year after N.E.P. was introduced Lenin declared at the Eleventh Party Congress (1922) that the retreat had come to an end, and he put forward the slogan: ‘Prepare for an offensive on private capital’ ” (History C.P.S.U.).

OBJECTIVE:

That which exists independently of human consciousness, i.e., the world and all “objects of understanding, but independent of understanding” (Lenin). “Bukharin (in his book, ‘Economics of the Transition Period’) speaks of ‘considering’ certain elements in the productive progress from a particular ‘point of view,’ from which they are ‘theoretically interesting.’ Lenin’s marginal comments run: ‘The wrong expressions’. Solecism. Subjectivism. The point lies not in who ‘considers,’ to whom it is ‘interesting,’ but in that which is, independent of human consciousness’ ” (Textbook of Marxist Philosophy). (See Materialism.)

Subjective refers to man’s perceptions, ideas, knowledge - which reflect the external, the objective world. “The success of our actions proves the agreement of our perceptions with the apprehensible objective truth of things” (Engels); e.g., the idea that water could be formed by combining oxygen and hydrogen was subjective; but that it correctly reflected objective reality was proven by the actual synthesis of water from these elements. “True subjectivity is the breaking down of the separation of idea and object, and it is obviously one and the same thing as practice. The objective world (objective truth) is through practice reflected in knowledge and ceases to be a strange world separate from human knowledge” (Textbook of Marxist Philosophy). Example of a subjective,

i.e., a false, view of society: that wars are caused, not by objective conditions of capitalist society, but by “man’s inherent combative nature.”

Note: Terms also used as follows: One who “thinks objective- ly” is one who analyses all the factors of the given problem free of personal prejudice; “thinking •subjectively” or “being subjective” indicates partial or complete domination of personal prejudices and a disregard of objective actuality.

OPPORTUNISM:

“Sacrificing the basic interests of the working class for some temporary advantage” (such as avoiding necessary struggle because of hardships involved); and, “adapting the Labor Movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie” (Lenin). Economic basis of opportunism is imperialist exploitation of the colonies; part of the super- profits is used to bribe a small section of the workers - the “labor aristocracy.” The Communist Party is strengthened by purging its ranks of opportunist elements, of “this stratum of the labor aristocracy or of workers who have become bourgeois, who have become quite petty-bourgeois in their mode of life, in their earnings, and in their outlook they are the real agents of the bourgeoisie in the Labor Movement, the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, channels of reformism and chauvinism” (Lenin). Such agents in the Party introduce “an element of hesitancy and opportunism, of disintegration and lack of self-confidence” (Stalin).

Note: Opportunism is sometimes mistakenly defined only as “careerism,” i.e., personal corruption. But it goes without saying that such members are automatically expelled. The real issue is the struggle against political corruption, i.e., departure to the least degree from Marxist-Leninist principles. Assume that the member is personally sincere, but politically opportunist; then, “no quarter should be given in fighting such elements, and their relentless expulsion from the Party is a condition precedent for the successful struggle against imperialism” (Stalin).

ORGANIC COMPOSITION OF CAPITAL: See Capital.

PACIFISM:

The sentiment for peace which often expresses “the beginning of a protest, an indignation and a consciousness of the reactionary nature of

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the (imperialist) war” (Lenin). Pacifism had a wide currency during the first World War, and in the years that followed, e.g., “conscientious objection” and the “I won’t fight” pledge. Pacifism, which fails to differentiate between just and unjust wars, rejects the only guarantee of peace - united mass struggle against imperialism, and its replacement by world Socialism. “ ‘Boycott war’ is a stupid phrase. Communists must take part even in the most reactionary war” (Lenin).

PAKISTAN: See Nationalism.

PEASANT:

The small farmer in countries in which the feudal relations of production existed, and whose present status is the outcome of that feudal past. Peasant life is characterised by extreme poverty, and backward social and cultural conditions. Sections of the peasantry have been dispossessed of their land long ago; they are rural proletarians - “landless peasants” - who work for others. Many among those who do possess some strip of land are still burdened with various feudal obligations to the big landowner.

The above does not apply to the emancipated peasantry of the Soviet Union, nor to the peasantry in the new democratic States which emerged in eastern Europe following: the People’s War against Fascism, and the peasantry of the Communist regions of China. (See Socialism.)

PEOPLE’S FRONT: See United Front.

PETTY BOURGEOISIE:

The middle class. (See Class.)

PHILISTINE:

One who “believes in” and “hopes for” Socialism, but who trembles at the spectacle of class battles and collapses in the first test in struggle. Heine’s humorous characterisation of the philistine, quoted by Lenin, ran: “What is a philistine? A hollow gut, full of fear and hope; may God have pity on him!”

Philistinism is frequently a direct avenue to provocation; the “fair-weather fellow-traveller” not only abandons his earlier principles, but to make doubly sure against being further identified with revolutionary Socialism, becomes a tool of reaction. (Note: The term philistinism is applied also to bourgeois-liberal trends represented, for example, by the “New Statesman

and Nation” and similar journals in U.S.A. and Britain; the publishers do not profess to be Socialist, but claim nevertheless to be banner-bearers of public enlightenment and social progress. But in every crucial test - the fight against war, Labor’s struggles, Negro rights, etc. - their role is essentially philistine and reactionary, ranging from refined intellectualist apologetics for capitalism to outright provocation against the Communists and the rest of Labor-democracy). (See Trotskyism.)

POLITICAL ECONOMY:

“The science of the developing historical systems of social production.” “The study of the production relationships in a given, historically-determined society, in their genesis, their development and their decay” (Lenin). “Political economy, in the widest sense, is the science of the laws governing the production and exchange of the material means of subsistence in human society” (Engels).

POLITICAL MASS STRIKE:

The adoption by the workers, all of them or at least the overwhelming majority, of the strike weapon for political struggle against the capitalist class and State. The political mass strike is possible only when a state of national crisis, involving all classes, either already exists or is being approached, and when the workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are taking the offensive against capital in an attempt to end the chaos which the rule of the capitalist class has been unable to avoid. Industry and the means of communications come into the grip of the Political Mass Strike; it paralyses the capitalist class, their Government and State apparatus, and draws into the struggle, under its powerful influence, even the most backward strata of the workers and the lower middle classes. (See Revolutionary Crisis.)

POLITICAL STRIKE:

Adoption of the strike weapon to achieve aims of a political character, i.e., aims other than economic, e.g., Australian watersiders’ strike in 1938 against loading pig-iron for Japan.

POLITICS: The theory and outlook, and the corresponding practice, of classes for the advancement of their economic interests; “politics is the concentrated expression of economics,” i.e., class struggle. “The struggle of class with class is a political struggle. The laboring class will substitute,

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in the course of its development, for the old society an association which will exclude classes and their antagonism, and there will be no more political power properly speaking, since the political power properly speaking is precisely the official resume of antagonism within civil society" (Marx). For Communists, the politics of revolutionary Marxism guide and dominate all organisational work. "He (Lenin) usually contrasted it (narrow- minded practicality) with vital revolutionary work and the necessity of having a revolutionary perspective in all our daily activities" (Stalin).

PRAGMATISM:

A trend in philosophy, particularly prominent in U.S.A. in the early part of this century, and peculiarly expressive of the interests of advancing American imperialism. Pragmatism evaluates ideas by their practical results, e.g., its first exponent (C. S. Peirce) stated: "Every truth has practical consequences, and these are the test of its truth." Pragmatism is "the attitude of looking away from first things, principles, 'categories,' supposed necessities, and of looking towards last things, fruits, consequences, facts" (William James). (See Eclecticism.) In his book, "Pragmatism," James provided the philosophical correlate for the religious sentiment which so frequently cloaks American imperialist policy: "I firmly disbelieve, myself, that our human experience is the highest form of experience extant in the universe." (See Fideism.)

PRICE:

The value of a commodity expressed in money; or, the money- name of the quantity of social labor incorporated in a commodity.

Because of continuously changing market conditions, the price of a commodity does not always correspond to its value; but value always remains the axis around which price oscillates. Commodities sell at their value only when supply exactly equals demand. "The theory of value assumes and must assume an equal supply and demand, but it does not assert that such an equality is always to be observed or can be observed in capitalist society" (Marx).

Note: The law of value is not in any way altered by the fact that commodities under capitalism are sold "not at their value but at the price of production. We must remember that the price of production is only a different form of value" (Leontiev). "The sum total of the values of all the commodities in a given society coincides with the sum total of the prices

of all the commodities; but in separate undertakings, and in separate branches of production, as a result of competition, commodities are sold, not in accordance with their values, but in accordance with the prices of production, which are equal to the expended capital plus the average profit” (Lenin).

How does price serve as “the blind regulator of commodity production and commodity exchange?” Production in capitalism is anarchic; the social division of labor is unplanned. “Each separate commodity producer works at his own risk. Only after the commodity has been produced and taken to the market does he find out whether there is a demand for his commodity or not” (Leontiev). The prices realised there indicate to the producer whether the quantity of the commodity should now be increased, maintained at the former level, reduced, or replaced altogether by a different type of commodity. But this regulation of production is again blind and elemental; the anarchy continues.

Note: A certain degree of planning in capitalism occurs in its later, monopolist, stages, when, especially under the stress of conditions in the two world wars, monopoly capitalism tended towards state monopoly capitalism. “the introduction of planning into industry keeps the workers enslaved nonetheless, though it enables the capitalists to gather in their profits in a more planned way” (Lenin).

Note: “Planning” in the economic sense of the term cannot be properly applied to the regimentation of the workers under fascism; their enslavement is part of the “totalitarian” organisation of the nation for aggressive war.

PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM: See Communism.

PRODUCTION:

Social labor operating on nature, and changing the materials furnished by nature, for procuring the means of life necessary for human existence and social development.

“Labor, human toil, is a nature-imposed necessity.” “In production men not only act on nature but also on one another. they enter into definite connections and relations with one another, and only within these social

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connections and relations does their action on nature, does production, take place" (Marx). (See Materialist Conception of History.)

Mode of Production: The production of material values by society in any one of the different epochs of history, comprised of the productive forces and relations of production, e.g., "the capitalist mode of production."

Instruments of Production: Machinery, tools, etc., for the production of food, clothing, fuel and other material values necessary for life.

Productive Forces: The instruments of production and the people operating them - people with "a certain production experience and labor skill." "The greatest productive force consists of the toiling classes themselves" (Leontiev).

Relations of Production: The definite relations established in production between people and, more particularly, between classes; expressed legally, and simply, property relations.

The relations into which men enter for the production of material values may be "relations of cooperation and mutual help between people who are free from exploitation; they may be relations of domination and subordination; and lastly, they may be transitional from one form of relations of production to another". "Five main types of relations of production are known to history: primitive communal, slave, feudal, capitalist and Socialist" (History C.P.S.U.).

Means of Life: "The material values - food, clothing, footwear, houses, fuel, instruments of production, etc. - which are indispensable for the life and development of society" (History C.P.S.U.).

Means of Production: "The land, forests, waters, mineral resources, raw materials, instruments of production, production premises (factories), means of transportation and communication, etc." (History C.P.S.U.). In capitalism, the means of production are owned by the capitalists; under Socialism, they are owned by the toilers, i.e., the whole of society.

Means of Consumption: "Those products of human labor which serve for the immediate satisfaction of human wants, the personal needs of food, clothing, shelter, etc." (Leontiev). (Certain commodities serve both as means of consumption and as means of production, e.g., coal, which is

used in fireplaces in homes and also in industry to produce steam and electric power).

Reproduction: In economics, the renewal and repetition of the process of production, both of the means of consumption and the means of production. “When viewed therefore as a connected whole, and as flowing on with incessant renewal, every social process of production is at the same time a process of reproduction” (Marx); and in each process of reproduction in capitalism, there are also reproduced the relations of production and the contradictions inherent in capitalism.

PROFIT:

One of the three main forms of capitalist appropriation of surplus value, the other two being rent and interest; it is the part appropriated by the industrial and commercial capitalists. If the industrial capitalist owns the land on which he runs his enterprise, and can engage in production without having to borrow money, he will then pocket the whole of the surplus value (but this is extremely rare in capitalism).

The source of profit in capitalism is thus the one and the same surplus value, but which appears to originate, not from variable capital (purchase of labor-power), but from the whole of capital. This conceals exploitation; it implies that machinery by itself, and also land, create value.

“What, then, is the general law that determines the rise and fall of wages and profit in their reciprocal relation? They stand in inverse proportion to each other. The share of capital (profit) increases in the same proportion in which the share of labor (wages) falls, and vice versa. Profit rises in the same degree in which wages fall; it falls in the same degree in which wages rise” (Marx).

PROLETARIAT: See Class.

PROPAGANDA:

The presentation of many ideas explaining some particular problem, in contradistinction to agitation, which explains and arouses political action on the basis of one commonly known event or condition. “A propagandist, dealing with, say, the question of unemployment, must explain the capitalist nature of crises, the reasons why crises are inevitable in modern

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society; must describe how present society must inevitably become transformed into Socialist society, etc. In a word, he must present 'many ideas,' so many, indeed, that they will be understood as a whole only by (comparatively) few persons. Consequently the propagandist operates chiefly by means of the printed word" (Lenin).

PROVOCATION:

The long-established capitalist practice of perpetrating all kinds of outrages against the Labor Movement with the aim of weakening and destroying it. In operating this weapon in their general attack upon the workers' economic and social standards, the capitalists and their agents within Labor's ranks always single out for particular attention that section of Labor-democracy which, in the given historical period, is the vanguard. Thus, a century ago, the English Chartists were the special object of capitalist hatred and persecution; to-day, the Communists.

Provocation is of two main types: - (a) "Direct": Spreading lies about working-class organisations (their aims, methods, personnel), forging of incriminating documents, vandalism, physical violence; (b) "indirect": Organising the commission of crimes in any sphere of social life, but with the calculated purpose of having the blame thrown on the Communists and other trusted leaders of the toilers, e.g., the burning of the Reichstag by the Nazi leaders. Apart from the records of fascist States (Nazi Germany or Franco Spain), or of imperialist repression in the colonies (Britain in India, Holland in Indonesia), the industrial history of U.S.A. provides some of the worst examples of capitalist provocation and terror against the workers.

These include countless frame-ups, e.g., Mooney, Billings, Sacco, Vanzetti, etc., and massacres of workers, e.g., the shooting of the strikers, their wives and children in Colorado, 1914 (the "Ludlow Massacre"), or the murder of Ford Motor Company employees in 1932 by the company's private armed guards, a veritable "standing army." Among notorious instances in Australian history are the frame-up of the I.W.W. (1916), the Rothbury shooting (1929), and the raids, arrests and book-burnings under the Menzies government (1940-41).

The capitalists employ agents within Labor's ranks for provocation purposes, notoriously the Trotskyists, whose methods include informing on militants, union-smashing tactics, and spreading confusion by leftist demagoguery.

At times, “well-meaning” workers unintentionally commit provocation against the Labor Movement by incorrect practices or unpardonable stupidity; and it remains provocation, however “well-meaning” and “unintentional.” In history, the anarchists stand first, and worst, in this regard, due especially to their policy of acts of terrorism.

PUTSCH:

“The term ‘putsch’ in the scientific sense of the word, may be employed when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators or stupid maniacs, and has aroused no sympathy among the masses” (Lenin).

QUANTITY INTO QUALITY (TRANSITION OF): See Dialectics.

“RACE THEORY” (“RACIALISM”): See Chauvinism.

RADICAL:

One who adopts a progressive, though not necessarily a revolutionary stand in the class struggle. Term sometimes used to conceal definite reactionary interests, e.g., the “Radical-Socialist Party” of France, whose leaders have been, at most and only rarely, radical, but certainly never Socialist; with the advance of the Labor Movement, they became counter-revolutionary and frequently openly fascist.

REACTIONARY:

One who defends the existing exploiting social order. The term is employed to designate all opponents of progress, whether those advocating social theories of the pre-capitalist epoch, e.g., clericalism, or the capitalists and their reformist servitors who oppose the advance of what is now historically desirable and practicable, i.e., Socialism.

REFORMISM:

The policy that diverts the workers from struggle for their basic interests and their final class objective, Socialism; that seeks to solve the workers’ problems by reforms only, but not by ending the rule of the capitalists. (See Class Collaboration.) Reformism sows illusions about winning improvements under capitalism indefinitely, and claims that this process will lead “gradually” to Socialism. (See Opportunism.)

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Note: Communists lead the struggle for reforms, but not as an end in themselves. This struggle for reforms, as well as achieving necessary gains in wages, shorter hours, improved social services, etc., provides the means of injecting Socialist consciousness into the Labor Movement, and advancing the workers' organisations. The economic roots of Reformism are found in imperialism.

RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION. See Production.

RELATIVE TRUTH. See Truth.

RENT (Ground Rent):

Income to the landowner, the tribute received, by him because of his monopoly ownership of land; one of the three main forms of capitalist appropriation of surplus value, the other two being profit and interest "all ground rent is surplus value, the product of surplus labor" (Marx).

Marx distinguishes between two forms of ground rent: Absolute and Differential Rent.

Differential Rent: "The difference between the individual price of production and the highest price of production" (Lenin); this difference is appropriated by the landowner.

Agricultural land may be divided into three main categories: best (due to high fertility, nearness to market, etc.), medium and worst; produce from all three is necessary to supply the market.

"The limitation of land results in the price of grain being determined by the conditions of production, not on the average land, but on the worst land under cultivation. The farmer on the better land obtains an additional profit, and this forms differential rent." Also, "the surplus profit obtained by the investment of capital on better land, or by a more productive investment of capital, forms differential rent" (Lenin).

Thus the worst land pays absolute rent and the average rate of profit, but no differential rent. If the landowner works the land himself he will receive, as landowner, absolute rent plus differential rent (provided his land is not the worst), plus, as entrepreneur, the average rate of profit on his invested capital.

Absolute Rent: Before any production is possible, including production on the worst land, rent must be paid to the landowner. Therefore, whereas industrial commodities sell at their price of production, agricultural commodities sell above their price of production - the excess being pocketed by the landowner. (Of course, if market prices drop, the worst land goes out of production, and what was “medium” now becomes the “worst”).

Private ownership of land acts as a barrier to the free flow of capital investment from industry (where the organic composition of capital is high and the rate of profit low) to agriculture (where the organic composition of capital is low and the rate of profit high). “In agriculture the surplus product is larger (in proportion to capital) than in other branches of industry” (Lenin).

“Absolute rent has its genesis in the private ownership of land” (Lenin).

REPRODUCTION: See Production.

REVISIONISTS:

Reformist leaders of European Social-Democracy, and their colleagues and followers. In the 1890’s Bernstein, a theoretician of the German Social-Democratic Party, started the struggle for “revising Marx”; everything in Marx’s teachings with a revolutionary implication was dropped in favor of concealed or open advocacy of imperialism. This “revisionism,” which began with the plea of “freedom to criticise Marx,” in the end converted Social-Democracy into open counter-revolutionary parties. Latest example of Revisionism is Browderism in U.S.A. (See Deviation.)

REVOLUTION:

The seizure of the State power by the new advanced class, e.g., the bourgeois revolution in France in 1789, and the Proletarian Revolution in Russia, November, 1917. Note: Hitler’s seizure of power was not a revolution, because the then ruling class, the capitalists, continued in power; the change was only from capitalist democracy to capitalist terror-rule.

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National Revolution: Generally, the struggle of a dependent or a colonial country against foreign domination for its national independence. In colonial and semi-colonial countries like India and China, national revolution would most likely embody all, or nearly all, of the characteristic features of the bourgeois revolution, and favor its rapid completion.

Bourgeois Revolution: The revolution in which the rising capitalist class overturns the power of the feudal monarchy and nobility. Examples, the great French Revolution of 1789, the Cromwell Revolution in England, the February Revolution and Kerensky regime in Russia in 1917, the Mustapha Kemal Revolution in Turkey after the first World War. The bourgeois revolution clears the way for the fullest development of capitalism; it abolishes serfdom in order to establish a home market, converts part of the peasants into proletarians, develops modern industry, establishes parliamentary or bourgeois democracy as a weapon in its struggle against the feudal-ists, etc., and thus creates the conditions necessary for the working class to struggle successfully for Socialism. Communists therefore support the historically-progressive bourgeois revolutions.

Proletarian Revolution: The seizure of political power by the working class, with the establishment of Soviet government as the political form of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The workers then proceed to build Socialist and, ultimately, Communist society. "The intellectual and moral driving force of this transformation (the Socialist Revolution) is the proletariat, the physical carrier trained by capitalism itself" (Lenin).

REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS:

The political situation when the Revolution, the transfer of power from the old class to the new historically-advanced class, becomes necessary and possible. "The fundamental law of revolution, confirmed by all revolutions, and particularly by the three Russian revolutions in the twentieth century, is as follows: It is not sufficient for revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses understand the impossibility of living in the old way, and demand changes; for revolution it is necessary that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule in the old way. Only when the 'lower classes' do not want the old, and when the 'upper classes' cannot continue in the old way, then only can the revolution be victorious. This truth may be expressed in other words: revolution is impossible without a national crisis affecting both the exploited and the exploiters. It follows that for revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class-conscious, thinking

politically-active workers) should fully understand the necessity for revolution, and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes should be in a state of governmental crisis which draws even the most backward masses into politics (a symptom of every real revolution is the rapid tenfold, and even hundred- fold, increase in the number of hitherto apathetic representatives of the-toiling and oppressed masses capable of waging the political struggle), weakens the government and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to overthrow it rapidly” (Lenin).

RIGHT (Rightwing):

Conservatism in politics generally, but applied more particularly to the reformists in the Labor Movement. (See Reactionary.)

RIGHT DEVIATION: See Deviation.

SECTARIANISM:

Incorrect policy, or correct policy incorrectly applied, which tends to isolate the Communists from the masses, leaving them few in number, a “sect.” (1) The attitude of the “Left Wing Communists” in 1920 towards reformist trade unions, declaring that it was futile and impermissible for Communists to work in “yellow, conciliatory, counter-revolutionary” trade unions. “To refuse to work in the reactionary trade unions means leaving the insufficiently developed or backward working masses under the influence of reactionary leaders, agents of the bourgeoisie, labor aristocrats or ‘bour- geoisified workers’ ” (Lenin). (2) Failure to recognise that the Communists by themselves cannot achieve the tasks of the Socialist Revolution; hence, failure to recognise the capacities of the toiling masses for organisation and for struggle, this in turn leading to impatience with the workers, to neglect and refusal to organise the workers, and thus to isolation from them. (3) Failure to recognise that Communism represents the whole of the interests, needs and aspirations of all progressive humanity; hence, sectarianism results when Communists, in their agitation and propaganda, stress only such issues as are more “directly” or “purely” of a Communist character (such as militant activities of Communists and the achievements of the Soviet Union), and tend to ignore other important events and conditions which possess the greatest implications for social advance and the winning of Socialism, such as past and present progressive activity by non-Party persons and

organisations. (See Vanguard.) (4) Adoption of a policy, and using the slogans corresponding thereto, no longer in accordance with new changed conditions.

“We must not confine ourselves to bare appeals to struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, but must also find and advance those slogans and forms of struggle which arise out of the vital needs of the masses, and are commensurate with their fighting capacity at the given stage of development” (Dimitrov).

“This is the whole point - we must not regard that which is obsolete for us as being obsolete for the class, as being obsolete for the masses” (Lenin).

Note: Sometimes a policy which is absolutely correct (such as defence of Soviet action against the Finnish fascists in 1939) may not for a time be understood by the masses, and a certain “isolation” may result; in such a case the Communists must stick to their guns, must “swim against the current,” knowing that sooner or later the masses will be convinced.

SELF-DETERMINATION (of Nations):

The right of oppressed peoples of the dependent countries and colonies to complete secession; the right of nations to independent existence as sovereign States, and not merely to “self-government,” “dominion status,” or “home rule,” or similar cloaks for continued imperialist domination. Marxism links the problem of national liberation with “the general problems of the rule of capital, of the overthrow of imperialism, of the proletarian revolution” (Stalin), and calls upon working-class organisations for direct support for the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations.

“The right of nations freely to secede must not be confused with the expediency of secession of a given nation at a given moment. The party of the proletariat must decide the latter question quite independently in each particular case from the standpoint of the interests of the social development as a whole and of the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat for Socialism” (History C.P.S.U.).

Also, the proletariat is not obliged to support every national movement. “Support must be given to such national movements as tend to weaken, to overthrow imperialism, and not to strengthen and preserve it” (Stalin), e.g., Marx’s support in the 1840’s for the national movement of the Poles and Hungarians, but his opposition at the same time to the national

movement of the Czechs and South Slavs; the former weakened, the latter strengthened, Russian tsardom. "The various demands of democracy, including self-determination, are not an absolute, but a small part of the general democratic (now: general Socialist) world movement. In individual cases, the part may contradict the whole; if so, it must be rejected" (Lenin).

SERFDOM: See Feudalism.

"SOCIAL-CHAUVINIST":

One who is "socialist in words, imperialist in deeds"; term applied to brand leaders of Social-Democracy who, in the imperialist World War, 1914-18, and since, betrayed their trust by siding with their "own" imperialist bourgeoisie. (See "Labor-Imperialist," footnote).

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY:

The general term for reformist and opportunist parties and their "theory" and practice in the Labor Movement; in Australia, the Australian Labor Party; in France, the Socialist Party; in Germany, the Social-Democratic Party. Social-Democracy's history is marked by timidity, legalism, "respectability," capitulation to the influence of the capitalists, and consistent betrayal, of the working class. (See International.)

SOCIALISM:

The social order which, through revolutionary action by the working class and its allies, replaces capitalism. It is "the first phase of Communist society, as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society" (Marx). It is the social order in which the exploitation of man by man has ended because the toiling masses own the means of production. In contrast with the higher phase of Communist society, where each "gives according to his ability, and receives according to his need," in Socialist society "each gives according to his ability, and receives according to the amount of work performed."

Under Socialism, State power is in the hands of the workers, the Soviets being the political foundation and form of government, as in the Soviet Union. "Between capitalist and Communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the State can be nothing

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but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat” (Marx).

Socialism is a “classless society” - classless in the sense that there are no exploiting or exploited classes. “According to the new (Stalin) Constitution, Soviet society consists of two friendly classes - the workers and peasants - class distinctions between the two still remaining” (History C.P.S.U.).

SOCIALIST COMPETITION:

In the Soviet Union, competition organised among the citizens to advance production, culture and general social well-being. The more each individual worker produces the greater the benefit to the whole. In the course of each competition those in front assist, by instruction and other forms of aid, those lagging behind. In capitalist countries, Socialist Competitions are organised in the Communist Parties, around such issues as leading the best campaigns for improvement of workers' conditions, and also the holding of the most meetings, recruiting the largest number of new Party members, etc. The spirit here is the same as in the Soviet Union, and the victories of the winners advance the cause of the Party and the working class as a whole. It is essentially collectivism, or co-operation. Compare with competition (“free enterprise”) in capitalism, with its waste, anarchy, suffering for the masses, its cut-throat spirit, etc.

SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARY:

A party of Tsarist Russia based largely on upper stratum of well-to-do peasantry. It supported at first land reform; after the October Revolution, its leaders went over to the counter-revolution.

SOLIPSISM:

The philosophy which regards one's own sensations as the only reality - “nothing exists except ‘my’ sensations.” An extreme development of idealism, expressing the complete divorcement of bourgeois philosophical thought from objective reality.

SOVIET:

Russian word meaning council. Organ of power of the proletariat. Government form of Socialist State. “An all-embracing organisation of the masses which, under the leadership of the proletariat, actively draws into and involves the broadest masses in the struggle for the revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the administration of the State.” “The Soviets are the direct organisations of the masses themselves, i.e.,

they are the most democratic, and therefore, the most authoritative organisations of the masses, that provide them with the maximum facilities for participating in the building up of the new State and its administration; they develop to their fullest extent the revolutionary energy, the initiative and the creative faculties of the masses in the struggle for the destruction of the old system, in the struggle for a new, proletarian system” (Stalin).

SPONTANEITY:

The erroneous and harmful view that the workers acquire consciousness of their status in society and can gain their fundamental class needs through waging their economic struggles; hence, denying the vanguard role of the Party, rejecting consistent organisation and preparation of the mass struggle, and belittling the importance of Socialist consciousness and theory. (See Economism.)

STATE:

“The State is a particular power of suppression” (Engels). The apparatus of State power (army, police, judiciary, etc.) in the hands of one class to suppress another, or other classes. In capitalism, it is in the hands of the big capitalists, bankers, etc., to suppress the industrial workers and all the toilers; in the Soviet Union the workers control the State in their own interest.

“Two basic functions characterise the activity of the State: at home (the main function), to keep in restraint the exploited majority; abroad (not the main function), to extend the territory of its class, the ruling class, at the expense of the territory of other States, or to defend the territory of its own State from attack by other States. Such was the case in slave society and under feudalism. Such is the case under capitalism” (Stalin).

Under Socialism the State “withers away”; in Socialist Russia, to the extent that the former exploiting minority have disappeared, to that extent the State apparatus to restrain or suppress them has likewise “withered away.” But in regard to the second function of the State power, defence of the Soviet territory from aggression, the State power has had to be continuously strengthened. “Will our State remain in the period of Communism also? Yes, it will, unless the capitalist encirclement is liquidated, and unless the danger of foreign military attack has

disappeared. Naturally, of course, the forms of our State will change again in conformity with the change in the situation at home and abroad" (Stalin).

"The State, therefore, has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies which have managed without it, which had no notion of the State or State power. The society which organises production anew on the basis of free and equal association of the producers will put the whole State machinery where it will then belong - into the museum of antiquities, next to the spinning wheel and the bronze axe" (Engels).

STATE CAPITALISM:

The exploitation of wage-labor in nationalised enterprises in which the State, representing the whole class of capitalists, owns a part or all of the capital invested. (See Nationalisation.)

Note: State capitalism in capitalist countries must not be confused with the elements of State capitalism which existed in Soviet Russia in the years following the October Revolution, and which was part of the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.).

"STATE SOCIALISM":

A misnomer, an unscientific expression. The term is sometimes used by reactionaries who oppose government control of certain enterprises (railways, brick-making, dairying) on the ground that this is "Socialism." (See State Capitalism.) As the State power is in the hands of the capitalists, this cannot be Socialism.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS:

"The science of the leadership in the class struggle of the proletariat."
"Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution. (the organisation) of the main forces of the revolution and their reserves." "Tactical leadership is a part of strategic leadership, subordinated to the tasks and requirements of the latter. to master all forms of struggle and organisation of the proletariat and to ensure that they are used properly so as to achieve, with the given alignment of forces, the maximum results necessary to prepare for strategic success." Also, "to locate at any given moment that particular link in the chain of processes which, if grasped, will enable us to hold the chain and to prepare the conditions for achieving strategic success."

(Quotations from Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism".)

SUBJECTIVE: See Objective.

SURPLUS VALUE:

The difference between the value of labor-power, which the worker receives in the form of wages, and the value created by him in the process of production. This difference belongs to the capitalist. Exploitation means precisely this appropriation by the capitalists of the surplus value created by the workers.

"The capitalist who produces surplus value, i.e., who extracts unpaid labor directly from the laborers, and fixes it in commodities, is indeed the first appropriator but by no means the ultimate owner of this surplus value. He has to share it with capitalists, with land-owners, etc., who fulfil other functions in the complex of social production" (Marx). Surplus value is the source of income to the class of capitalists - profit to the industrial (and merchant) capitalists, rent to the landowners, and interest to the owners of money-capital (bankers, bondholders, etc.).

SYNDICALISM:

A trend in the Labor Movement which sees in the trade union the only, or virtually the only, instrument for the overthrow of capitalism and the reconstitution of society (in French, "syndicat," trade union); essentially no different from anarcho-syndicalism, "revolutionary syndicalism," etc.

SYNDICATE: See Monopoly.

TACTICS: See Strategy and Tactics.

THEORY:

"Theory is the experience of the Labor Movement in all countries taken in its general form" (Stalin). Only the Communists possess the theory of Socialism, the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution. Reformism, while frequently giving lip-service to the Socialist objective, denies the vanguard role of the working class, preaches the "theory" of the "gradual" development from capitalism to Socialism and similar opportunist "theories," whose net effect helps maintain the capitalists in power. "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary

movement” (Lenin).

TORY:

In English history, one who defended the principle of the king's supremacy over parliament; in recent times, the term designates the party, person or trend which stands for extreme conservatism in politics, specifically, the defence of monopoly capital. Note: To cloak their reactionary politics, tory parties adopt more attractive titles, e.g., “Liberal” and “Country” parties of Australia.

TRADE UNION:

The basic mass organisation of the workers for struggle for immediate objectives - improvements in wages, hours, etc., and which must “act consciously as focal points for organising the working class in the greater interest of its complete emancipation” (Marx). As class organisations, the unions cannot adopt a neutral attitude in the political struggle, but must combine the everyday struggle with the struggle for the Proletarian Dictatorship. “The theory of the ‘independence’ and ‘neutrality’ of the unions and of narrow-minded trade unionists and co-operative society officials who have become petty bourgeois, is wholly incompatible with the theory and practice of Leninism” (Stalin).

Craft Union: A trade union of workers belonging to some particular craft, e.g., moulders, carpenters, engineers, etc. Historically, the older type of union.

Note: The term “narrow craft outlook” refers to the failure of officials or members of the given craft union to recognise that their basic interests call for the closest unity with all other unions. (See Class Consciousness, Labor Movement.)

Industrial Union: The trade union of all the workers in a given industry irrespective of differing trades and skill, e.g., the union covering the mining industry would include miners, engine-drivers, clerks, etc. - every worker in the industry. Historically the most advanced type of union.

TROTSKYISM:

A counter-revolutionary organisation named after Leon Trotsky, who was connected with the Russian Labor Movement for many years. He and his followers were exposed as Fifth Columnists in Russia several years ago. Trotskyism still persists in capitalist countries, and demands constant

vigilance and struggle by the Communist Party and all other sections of the Labor Movement. Its danger arises particularly from the fact that Trotskyists pose as “Communists,” “Marxists,” “revolutionaries,” etc., and that a few of the Trotskyists are former Party members, which gives them some knowledge of how the Party works. Trotskyism is a very useful weapon in the hands of the capitalists for fighting Communism under the label of “Communism.” Trotskyists appear under various aliases, e.g. “Communist League,” “Revolutionary Workers’ League,” “Fourth International,” “Labor Socialist Group,” etc. In the Spanish war a Trotskyist organisation, which directly served Franco, was called the “Party of Marxist Unification” (the notorious “P.O.U.M.”). In Australia, U.S.A., Spain, China and everywhere, Trotskyists play the role of provocateurs. (See Provocation.)

As Communism increased its strength throughout the world, sections of Social-Democracy adopted the Trotskyist technique of provocation against the Communists and other progressives and against the Soviet Union, e.g., the leadership of the Independent Labor Party of England (I.L.P.); the Socialist Party of America; in Australia, the journals controlled by J. T. Lang, the leadership of the Australian Workers’ Union, and others. Philistinism is another agency of Trotskyist provocation.

TRUST: See Monopoly.

TRUTH (Absolute and Relative):

Correspondence of thought to the objective world - but this conception employs the following principal criteria: (a) the world, objective reality, exists independently of human consciousness, (b) the world is a process, is matter developing in a historical process, (c) in social-historic practice man “must prove the truth, i.e., the reality and power, the ‘this-sidedness’ of his thinking” (Marx). (See Dialectics, Epistemology, Objective.)

“The aggregate of all the aspects of a phenomenon, their actuality and their mutual-dependence - that is the source of truth” (Lenin).

“Human thought then by its nature is capable of giving, and does give, absolute truth, which is compounded of the sum-total of relative truths. Each step in the development of science adds new grains to the sum of absolute truth, but the limits of the truth of each scientific proposition are

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relative, now expanding, now shrinking with the growth of knowledge” (Lenin).

Explanation of “relative truth”: The growth of science revealed that earlier theories in chemistry, mechanics, physics, etc., and also in economics, Socialism (Utopian Socialism), philosophy, etc., did not adequately reflect objective reality, they were “only relatively true”; but these relative truths did contain a core of absolute truth, e.g., the condemnation by the Utopian Socialists of the social folly of poverty in the midst of abundance. “It is unconditionally true that to every scientific ideology (as distinct, for instance, from religious ideology) there corresponds an objective truth, absolute nature” (Lenin).

Man's knowledge of the universe and its laws deepens with the advance of social-historical experience. Compare, for example, the extremely limited mining practice of primitive man with mining experience to-day, i.e., after millennia of ever-improving practice, new techniques, theoretical generalisations in regard to geology, industry, etc. “The education of the five senses is the product of universal history”. “A needy man, full of cares, is not able to understand a very beautiful composition. The dealer in minerals sees only their money value, not the beauty or the special character of the minerals; he has no mineralogical sense” (Marx).

UNITED FRONT:

Unity in action between the Communist Party and the reformist party (in Australia, the Australian Labor Party) and non-party workers on given issues upon which agreement is reached, e.g., a campaign for higher wages, defence of democratic liberty, etc. The toilers vastly outnumber the exploiters, and they are the banner-bearers of the future; when united, they will be victorious; “the united working class is invincible” (Lenin). “One element of success they (the workers) possess - numbers, but numbers weigh only in the balance if united by combination and led by knowledge” (Marx).

Note: It is necessary to emphasise that the essence of the United Front is not merely the formal agreement reached between the Communist Party and the parties of reformism, important as that agreement is; the essence is the unity of the masses in struggle against capitalism. “The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to begin, is to form a united front, to establish unity of action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world”. “The

creation of non-partisan class bodies is the best form for carrying out, extending and strengthening the united front among the rank and file of the masses. These bodies will likewise be the best bulwark against any attempts of the opponents of the united front to disrupt the growing unity of action of the working class" (Dimitrov).

People's Front: An alliance between the organisations of the working class and those of the working farmers, civil servants, small business people and other of common concern to all and upon which agreement for united action is reached. The proletarian United Front is the basis, or core, of the broader People's Front.

UNITY AND STRUGGLE OF OPPOSITES: See Dialectics.

USE-VALUE:

Anything that satisfies a human want. (See Commodity.)

UTOPIAN:

Idea or vision of social progress and/or of a future society which is not based on development from existing conditions. Named after book "Utopia," written by Sir Thomas Moore, the great 16th century humanist, in which was voiced the protest of the expropriated peasants of England; any unreal, impractical plan.

VALUE:

The socially necessary labor embodied in a commodity. "Use-values of commodities differ so widely that they cannot be compared quantitatively. For example, what is there in common in the use-value of pig iron and roast beef? Consequently, we must look for the secret of value, not in use-value, but in something else. Marx says: 'If then we leave out of consideration the use-value of commodities, they have only one common property left, that of being products of labor' " (Leontiev).

Value is measured (or, the magnitude of value is determined) by the quantity of labor-time embodied (or congealed, incorporated) in the commodity. "Does this mean that the lazier and more unskilled the workman, the more valuable his commodity? Of course not. When we say that the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labor expended upon its production, or the labor crystallised in it, we have in

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mind the labor-time that is required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time" (Marx).

VANGUARD:

The leading force of the working class, i.e., the Communist Party. "A vanguard performs its task as vanguard only when it is able to lead the mass forward. Without an alliance with non- Communists in the most varied sphere of activity there can be no question of any successful Communist constructive work." "The role of vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by an advanced theory" (Lenin). (See Labor Movement.)

WAGE LABOR: See Labor and Labor-Power.

WAGES:

The monetary expression of the value, or the price, of labor- power, but which appears in the form of the "price of labor." Wages (time-wages, piecework-wages, bonuses, etc.) seem to be payment for the entire labor of the worker; hence, capitalist exploitation, i.e., the appropriation of surplus value, is concealed. "The value of labor-power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labor-time necessary for its production, and, consequently also the reproduction of this special article.in other words, the value of labor-power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the laborer" (Marx).

Wages "are not a share of the worker in the commodities produced by himself. Wages are that part of already existing commodities with which the capitalist buys a certain amount of productive labor-power" (Marx).

Unlike other commodities, the determination of the value of labor-power includes an historical or social element. In every country it is "determined by a traditional standard of life. It is not mere physical life, but it is the satisfaction of certain wants springing from social conditions in which people are placed and reared" (Marx). The tendency in capitalism is always towards the reduction of the standard of living of the workers to an extremely low level.

Basic Wage: In Australia, the amount recognised by the Arbitration Court as the minimum wage to be paid to adult male workers. Basic wage rulings fully confirm Marx's analysis that "the general tendency of capitalist

production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages. to its minimum limit.”

WARS - JUST AND UNJUST:

A just war is one waged for liberation, “to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism.” Unjust wars are “wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations” (History C.P.S.U.).

“WHITE AUSTRALIA” POLICY:

The policy of the imperialists of Britain and Australia designed to make Australia an “outer bastion” of the Empire, the “trustee” of British imperialist power, in the Pacific by building up the population on a “British race” basis; hence, and specifically, the exclusion of Asiatics as immigrants. In origin, theory and practice, “White Australia” expresses the interests of the ruling class, but sections of the Labor Movement have participated. Labor’s Right Wing identifies itself completely with the imperialists on this issue, and endeavours to inject imperialist ideology into the workers’ ranks by propagating Hitler-like “race theories,” and with demagogic talk about “hordes of Asiatic immigrants,” etc. (See Chauvinism, Internationalism, Nationalism, “Race Theory”).

“There is no ‘White New Zealand’ policy or ‘White Canada’ policy, and no one hears of those countries being overrun by Asiatics. Both New Zealand and Canada regulate immigration without using terms that are insulting to the enslaved peoples. We could no more permit (mass immigration from Asia), than from Europe, or from Britain for that matter, and for the same reason - it would endanger living standards and create unemployment and would, therefore, favor the efforts of reactionary elements to promote political and racial divisions among the people. Mass immigration from low- wage countries in particular must be avoided. Hence the importance of the immigration quota system, advocated by the Communist Party, as a means to effectively control the flow of immigrants from all countries in accordance with the economic conditions prevailing here in Australia. Our independence has, in large measure, been preserved by China’s heroic struggle (against Japan). Should we continue to insult these great people by flaunting in their faces the ‘White Australia’ policy which

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infers that they are an inferior race, that their color makes them unworthy of entering Australia?" (R. Dixon).

ZIONISM:

"A reactionary and nationalist political movement which recruited its followers from among Jewish petty-and middle bourgeoisie, intellectuals, business employees, artisans and the more backward sections of the Jewish workers. Its aim is to organise a Jewish bourgeois state in Palestine, and it endeavours to isolate the Jewish working-class masses from the general struggle of the proletariat." (Editorial note in Stalin's "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question".) Since the first World War, Zionism has been orientated on British imperialism on the basis of the Balfour Declaration, 1917, which promised the establishment of a national home for Jews in Palestine. Communists differentiate between Zionism, as a tool of British imperialist intrigue in the Middle East, and the legitimate needs and aspirations of the Jewish settlement in Palestine, now very large, and almost entirely the result of savage persecution in capitalist countries. (See Anti-Semitism and Nationalism.)

L Harry Gould - Biography

Husband of Diana Gould, L Harry Gould was educated at Dublin University. He joined the Communist Party in 1934 and was an activist for Negro rights in the USA. By 1937 he was in Sydney working as a WEA lecturer. Warm and personable, a mild-mannered Jewish academic, he became editor of the Workers' Weekly and its successor Tribune. In preparation for the CPA being declared illegal, he bought a printing press. Both CPA papers reviewed NT productions, important during the period 1948-60 when the theatre was blacklisted by the major dailies.

Although viewed as a CPA theoretician, Gould's attitude to the Party was not uncritical. He said that CPA intervention killed writers stone dead, destroying spontaneity, that Lenin wouldn't have dared interfere with the creative process the way the CPA did, and that after Alan Marshall was told to write differently by CPA's Alan Watt, he couldn't write a line of his own and his output dried up. Nevertheless, in a speech at Sydney University Labour Club in 1948, Gould defended the CPA as practising full democracy while the capitalist system produced gangster, horror and sex films, and empty poetry.

Jailed for three months for membership of the CPA, Harry remained a member soon after release he was killed in a car accident in 1974. His published works include several editions of a Marxist Glossary 1943-67, The Sharkey Writings ca 1974, and Art, Science & Communism 1946.

Appendix D - Progressive News Outlets

In These Times	http://inthesetimes.com/
The Nation	https://www.thenation.com/
Yes	http://www.yesmagazine.org/
Dissent	https://www.dissentmagazine.org/
People's World	http://www.peoplesworld.org/
The Young Turks	https://tytnetwork.com/
Thom Hartman	https://www.thomhartmann.com/
Mother Jones	http://www.motherjones.com/
Al Jazeera	http://www.aljazeera.com/
Utne	http://www.utne.com
Truth Out	http://www.truth-out.org/
Free Thought Project	http://thefreethoughtproject.com/
Mint Press News	http://www.mintpressnews.com/
Fifth Column	http://thefifthcolumnnews.com/
Revolution News	https://revolution.news/
Common Dreams	https://www.commondreams.org/
Pontiac Tribune	http://pontiactribune.com/
Slate	http://www.slate.com/
Democratic Underground	https://www.democraticunderground.com/
Think Progress	https://thinkprogress.org/
Vox	https://www.vox.com/
Progressive Populist	http://www.populist.com
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Mark Maxey

You can find more here:

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Appendix E - New Socialist Articles

Two poignant articles from New Socialist, <http://newsocialist.org>

Marxism, Nationalism and National Struggles Today³⁵⁰, by David McNally
2/23/2010

Part One: The Nationalist Challenge to Marxism

1. Nationalism dominates world politics—and it does so with surprising ease. Open any daily newspaper, listen to discussions at work or school, watch or listen to any news show, look at the courses taught at universities, and you find that the division of the global population into entities called “nations” is overwhelmingly taken for granted. As I write these words, the Summer Olympic Games are underway in Atlanta. All the athletes at these Games are organized by nation-states; they represent “their” state, they wear its colours and its flag. The medals won by these athletes are said to belong to their country, they bring the country honour and pride. Every day, a tally of medal standings by nation is provided to the millions upon millions of people who are following this event.

For the vast majority of people, there is nothing odd, insidious or dangerous about any of this. They take for granted that they are members of a nation-state; they take pride in its alleged accomplishments; they suffer when their nation is embarrassed or humiliated (remember Ben Johnson?). It rarely if ever occurs to them that the nation-state system is a very recent creation in human history, that most human societies have had no concept of the nation whatsoever, and that the rise of the nation-state system corresponds to the international development of capitalism. Moreover, rarely does the idea enter political debate that the nation-state system is a unique political form that regulates, controls and disciplines people in a way that facilitates their exploitation by capital. Most of the time, we simply inhabit a mental universe in which discussion of things in national terms—Japanese cars, Canadian steel, American movies, Russian athletes, Jamaican music and so on—is part of the common-sense that organizes our political and cultural understanding of the world.

³⁵⁰ <http://bit.ly/NSMcNally>

Even the rise of virulent ethno-nationalisms—like those in the former Yugoslavia, or those which are killing hundreds of thousands in Burundi and Rwanda at the moment—rarely cause us to question the very idea of nations or our own nationalism. It is overwhelmingly the other person's nationalism that is considered the problem; almost never our own.

2. For all these reasons, nationalism represents arguably the greatest challenge to Marxism. “The workers have no country,” declared Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto. In this spirit, Marxism launched the first political movement that thought in truly international terms and declared world-wide human emancipation and the elimination of the nation-state to be its highest goal. The International Workingmen's Association (often known as the First International), launched in 1864, represented the form of organization that fit this outlook: an international political movement of the working class.

Yet, the period of nearly 150 years since the publication of the Communist Manifesto has been one in which working class movements have tended (outside of the interlude of 1917-23 or so) to become increasingly dominated by nationalism. Labour movements are almost entirely national in organization; they generally seek to organize workers in a given country with little thought of their sisters and brothers elsewhere. More than this, they are dominated by nationalism: they tend to support import controls (and other forms of national protectionism) to protect “our jobs” and “our” way of life. It is no exaggeration to say that left nationalism is the dominant ideology of labour movements throughout the world.

Yet, unless the hold of nationalism can be broken, the prospects are dim indeed for the politics of socialist internationalism. For this reason, discussion of “the national question” has been a recurring one within the socialist movement. In what follows, I intend to review some of the key elements of Marxist debates over nationalism, to look at their strengths and their weaknesses, and to apply some of the insights this survey provides to discussing national questions in Canada today.

Part Two: The National Question from Marx to Trotsky

3. The persistence of nationalism and the reality of national struggles have forced socialists to return regularly to this issue. But it has to be

acknowledged that generally things have not gone well in this area. The vast majority of socialists have adapted to or accommodated to nationalism; they have come to see their project as involving a more enlightened and humane running of the national state (not its elimination in the course of an internationalizing struggle of “the wretched of the earth”). A small minority of socialists have simply tried to ignore the realities of national struggles, endlessly issuing calls for international unity of the world’s workers that move almost no one and which ignore real, concrete national questions. There are some important cases where socialists have struggled to find a genuinely internationalist ways of relating to realities of national oppression—Marx’s attitude towards Ireland in the 1860s, and Lenin’s approach to the oppressed peoples of Tsarist Russia stand out in this regard. Before looking at these examples, however, I want to spend a few moments on the first two trends to which I’ve alluded.

4. The world socialist movement first developed a mass character in Germany beginning in the late 1880s. Germany at that time was a monarchy with a parliament whose electorate was a small minority of the adult population. Over the years, more and more workers received the vote, and the organized party of the working class, the Social Democratic Party (often known by its German initials SPD), became a major political force. The SPD soon became identified with “capturing” the German state, not overthrowing it. As a result, SPD leaders became more and more influenced by the idea of the national interest. Increasingly, leading figures began to defend the idea of a “progressive” German colonialism. An SPD government, they suggested, would not free German colonies; it would simply treat them better. So powerful was the identification with the nation-state, so committed did much of the SPD leadership become to the idea of inheriting and taking over the nation that in August of 1914, the SPD came out in favour of the German government’s entry into the First World War. Most parties of the so-called Second International (founded in 1889) quickly followed suit.

5. In the forefront of the socialist opposition to the War were the Polish-German Marxist Rosa Luxemburg, and the Russian Marxist V. I. Lenin. Both denounced the War as a feature of imperialism, as part of the competitive struggle of the major capitalist powers to divide up the globe. Luxemburg and Lenin developed policies of international socialist opposition to the War; they argued that workers should refuse to support “their” national ruling classes and that they should work to turn the social

crises that the war would eventually induce into class wars of workers against the capitalist system.

6. Luxemburg and Lenin thus contributed to a vitally important internationalist and anti-imperialist current within the socialist movement. Despite their significant agreements in this area, however, they differed strongly on the question of the socialist attitude to national struggles. Luxemburg claimed that in the age of imperialism and the full internationalizing of capitalism, national struggles were out-moded. So powerful was the world economy, that the idea of an economically independent nation-state had become ridiculous. In the mid-nineteenth century, she argued, national wars that broke up old empires and created new bourgeois-democratic states had been progressive. But that age had passed. In the epoch of international capitalism, it was reactionary to support the creation of new nation-states. The task now was to mobilize the international working class against world capitalism. "In the era of rampaging imperialism, there can be no more national wars," she declared. National struggles "can serve only as a means of deception," of duping the masses.

Luxemburg's position has a strength: its principled internationalism, its vigorous opposition to nationalism. But it also has, as Lenin argued, two crucial weaknesses. First, it papers over the hierarchical character of the relationships between nations—the fact that some dominate and others are oppressed—and in so doing leads socialists to a position of indifference or neutrality in struggles between oppressor nations and oppressed ones. Secondly, it underestimates the importance of socialists advocating the rights of oppressed peoples to self-determination as a way to challenge the national-chauvinism that generally infects workers in the dominant nations. Luxemburg's error, in other words, has to do with the fact that she looks at national struggles only from the relatively abstract level of the world economy. In so doing, she loses sight of their concrete political dynamics, the way in which such national conflicts shape the terrain of political struggle and working class consciousness. If Marxists are to be part of the real terms of political debate in society, argued Lenin, an abstract and timeless position of the sort "all national struggles are out-moded" will not do. Instead, revolutionary socialists must try to assess how given national struggles affect the general terrain of political struggle in society, and work out their approach from there. Lenin presented the

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argument he developed in this areas as an elaboration of the position Marx had taken on the struggle for Irish independence. In truth, Lenin's position was more original than that. He developed a quite novel approach to the whole issue of national struggles. But let's begin with Marx on Ireland, and see where Lenin went with it.

Marx and Engels had originally put little stock in the Irish struggle for independence from Britain. In 1848, for example, they held that Britain's mass workers' movement of the time (known as Chartism) would deal with the problem. They saw the Irish question as a fairly minor aspect of the working class struggle in Britain, and they often faulted the Irish nationalists for failing to ally themselves with Chartism. After the decline of Chartism, as anti-Irish sentiment started to play a more and more important role in British politics, and as the Fenian movement for Irish independence surged forward again in the 1860s, Marx's position changed.

Marx's argument took the following form. First, he claimed that anti-Irish sentiment, by tying English workers to an identification with their own rulers, was the biggest obstacle to independent working class politics:

The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. . . . This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class . . . (Marx and Engels, Ireland and the Irish Question, 293-4)

Second, Marx now argued that the national struggle in Ireland was the key to igniting the workers' revolution in England. This, he acknowledged, was a reversal of his earlier view:

For a long time, I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime through English working class ascendancy . . . Deeper study has convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will never accomplish anything before it has got rid of Ireland . . . The lever must be applied in Ireland. (ibid., 284)

And it followed from this that the Irish question should now move to the forefront of working class politics in England. This, Marx insisted, was a vital issue for the First International: "Hence it is the task of the

International everywhere to put the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground, and everywhere to side openly with Ireland” (ibid, 294). The experience of rethinking the Irish question tended to be of more general importance for Marx and Engels. It lead Marx, for instance, to coin his wonderful saying that “any nation that oppresses another, forges its own chains.” In many respects, what Lenin did was to take this insight and apply it systematically.

8. The empire of the Russian Tsars contained dozens upon dozens of oppressed national communities. In trying to organize a working class movement across the Tsarist empire, Russian Marxists inevitably came up against nationalist aspirations. Many Russian Marxists dismissed these, suggesting that national issues had no place in a Marxist movement. Lenin’s early writings pay little attention to these questions. But over time, the national question came to play a more and more important role in his thinking. By the First World War, he had developed a fairly distinctive attitude towards the issue.

Lenin’s view has the following elements. First, in an imperialist world order there is a hierarchy among nations which inevitably produces nationalist revolts. Second, the key problem for Marxists is how to find their bearings as internationalists in a world dominated by national conflicts. Third, the crucial strategic problem is to try to displace workers’ nationalist sentiments by internationalist ones. Fourth, the biggest obstacle to doing so is the nationalism of workers in the dominant nations which (as Marx argued about English workers in the case of Ireland) leads them to identify with their ruling class; and which reinforces the nationalism of workers in the oppressed nations (since the latter do not see workers in the dominant nation as the least bit sympathetic to their aspirations to be free from national oppression). What follows from this, according to Lenin, is that Marxists should support the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, including their right to form an independent state.

The key to Lenin’s argument is its focus on the political (unlike Luxemburg’s largely economic argument). Lenin insists that nationalism represents crucially a political division within the working class. The marxist approach takes this political division as its starting point in an effort to overcome it. To this end, the key question is not the economic

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viability of a given nation-state, but what tactics will be most effective in building working class solidarity and internationalism. And Lenin's answer is clear: undermine the national chauvinism of workers in the dominant nation by campaigning openly for the right of oppressed nations to determine their own futures. To win workers in an oppressor nation to such a position would represent a major blow to nationalist identifications.

Lenin made it clear that this did not mean that marxists would like to see more and more independent nation-states set up. On the contrary, as internationalists Marxists favoured federations that brought more workers into a common political life. But, all such federations should be voluntary. Forcible, coercive or oppressive forms of political association were to be opposed:

If we demand freedom of secession for the Mongolians, Persians, Egyptians and all other oppressed and unequal nations without exception, we do so not because we favour secession, but only because we stand for free, voluntary association and merging as distinct from forcible association. (cited in James M Blount, *The National Question: Decolonising the Theory of Nationalism*, 67).

Supporting the right of nations to self-determination thus became a key element in a strategic approach towards building international solidarity of workers. Not to support that right means to align oneself objectively with the dominant nationalism. And that means to operate with an abstract internationalism which fails to acknowledge the importance of the experience of national domination, or what Lenin called "the psychology that is so important in the national question" (*Collected Works*, v. 19, 499). International solidarity requires, in other words, that workers in the dominant nations be the most vigorous advocates of the right of oppressed peoples within "their" state to self-determination (including their right to secede).

At the same time, argued Lenin, it is such principled opposition to the dominant nationalism that will enable workers in the oppressed nation to move from nationalism to socialism. While socialists in the oppressor nation advocate the rights of the oppressed to self-determination, socialists in the oppressed nation "must attach prime significance to the unity and merging of the workers of the oppressed nations with those of the oppressor nations; otherwise these Social-Democrats will involuntarily become the allies of their own national bourgeoisie" (*Collected Works*, v.

21, 409). In a similar spirit, the Theses on the National and Colonial Questions of the Communist International insisted that, even when supporting a bourgeois national struggles against colonialism, socialists should insist upon “the independence of the proletarian movement.”

This approach has considerable strengths in enabling socialists to engage seriously with actual national struggles without abandoning their internationalist objectives. For these reasons, we can learn much from Marx’s writings on Ireland and Lenin’s discussions of the national question. At the same time, these writings offer little more than guidelines. After all, defending the right to secede does not tell one under what conditions one should advocate it. Attention to the writings of Marx and Lenin is no substitute for concrete analysis of actual struggles in real conditions. Rather than providing a formula that can simply be applied in each and every context, they are a starting point to guide analysis. To try to use them as anything more is to substitute sloganeering for serious analysis. Before proceeding to discuss how we might use these insights in approaching national struggles in the Canadian state, it is important first to comment on the issues of nationalism and internationalism as they burst out in the period after Lenin’s death in 1924.

9. The world communist movement shifted from internationalism to nationalism under the impact of the degeneration of the revolution of 1917 in Russia and the rise of Stalinism. As early as 1923, the idea of “national Bolshevism” was being developed in the German Communist Party. Once Stalin declared that it was possible to build “socialism in one country,” the door was opened to the idea of distinct national struggles for socialism that accepted the terms of reference of the dominant nationalisms. So, for example, the Communist Party of Canada soon discovered that Canadian nationalism was “progressive”; meanwhile, CP members in Quebec who tried to promote a more nuanced understanding of the Quebec national struggle were regularly expelled for “bourgeois nationalism.”

It was one of the great historic contributions of Leon Trotsky to have resisted the notion of the struggle for socialism as a national one and to have held firm to marxist internationalism. For all their terrible problems, trotskyist groups played an important role in keeping such ideas alive at a time when nationalism dominated the left. Trotsky’s distinct contribution in this area was his theory of “permanent revolution.” Originally

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formulated as a strategic view of the coming Russian revolution, in the late-1920s, Trotsky reformulated it as a theory of the relationship between national and class struggles in the age of imperialism.

The theory of permanent revolution was a brilliant and original contribution to marxist thought. Rejecting the schematic, linear, and mechanistic idea that every society must pass through given historic stages before the struggle for socialism can be posed, Trotsky argued for concrete analysis of the class dynamics in any given society in the context of its relationship to the world economy. Thus, while most Russian Marxists argued that Russia first had to undergo a “bourgeois democratic revolution” against Tsarism and then complete a stage of capitalist development before the struggle for workers’ power might be on the agenda, Trotsky argued that the Russian bourgeoisie was too frightened by the growing power of a precocious Russian proletariat to lead the struggle against the Tsarist monarchy.

Frightened that a revolutionary movement for liberal democracy would spark mass strikes and bring an insurrectionary proletariat to the streets fighting for its distinctive class demands (as had indeed happened in 1905), the Russian bourgeoisie will soon desert such a struggle, he maintained. As a result, leadership in the anti-Tsarist struggle will pass to the proletariat which will put its unique stamp on the movement, pushing it towards the struggle for workers’ democracy. Borrowing a phrase from Marx, Trotsky described this as a “permanent revolution”—what begins as a revolutionary movement for liberal democracy will soon pass over into a struggle for socialist democracy and workers’ power.

Trotsky’s theory (developed in 1905-6) proved to be a profound anticipation of the class dynamics of the revolutionary process of 1917. Under the impact of the revolutionary movement in China in the 1920s, Trotsky soon extended the theory from Russia to the colonial world in general. In the colonies, he suggested, the same pattern will apply: a frightened bourgeoisie will pull back from the anti-colonial struggle; the latter will triumph only if led by a revolutionary party of the working class. While there were some important insights gained from this argument, it ran the risk of over-generalization. After all, in the absence of a working class as self-organized and combatative as the Russian workers’ movement of 1905 and 1917, why should petty bourgeois or bourgeois groups inevitably pull back from leading national struggles? Indeed, they didn’t. In countries like India, Algeria, Pakistan, Bangladesh and dozens upon dozens

more, nationalist movements not led by the working class did indeed establish independent nation-states. In China, a so-called Communist Party led such a struggle with no semblance of working class self-activity, and with no creation of organs of workers' democracy.

The world after 1945 in fact saw a whole succession of national independence struggles in which working class movements played no meaningful role. Clearly this required some revision of Trotsky's theory. Whatever its strengths, it could not be used as a universally-valid prediction about national struggles in the age of imperialism. Some trotskyists did attempt to come to terms with developments that clearly failed to conform to Trotsky's theory. Others, however, continued to cling dogmatically to the letter of Trotsky's account. The largest U.S. trotskyist group (Socialist Workers Party) produced a document in 1974 for example, which argued: "In the imperialist epoch, the national bourgeoisie in the industrially backward countries betrays its own revolution. Bourgeois democratic tasks, including the achievement of national independence can be carried out only through the socialist revolution" (*Dynamics of World Revolution Today*, 137-8).

Now, the fact that this claim was obviously false (i.e. national independence was being achieved without socialist revolution) did not seem to matter. Trotsky had said it, therefore it must be true. But many trotskyists who took such a line started to see socialist revolutions and workers' states everywhere: Algeria, Egypt, wherever a progressive-sounding nationalist regime took power. After all, if national independence could not be achieved without socialist revolution, then the achievement of national independence could only mean such a revolution had occurred. The fact that nothing resembling a socialist revolution could be identified—like millions of oppressed peoples taking to the streets and winning the rank and file of the army to their side, like mass strikes and workplaces occupations, like new institutions of popular self-government springing up in the workplaces and communities—did not seem to matter. Going much farther than had Trotsky, some groups began to argue that a hidden logic drove all nationalist struggles onto the road of socialist revolution. Even if they didn't know it, bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalists were actually making workers' revolutions. The primacy of workers' self-emancipation quickly disappeared (since almost any social group could now create socialism). And, inevitably, the line between

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nationalism and socialism became blurred. After all, if anti-imperialist nationalism automatically grows over into socialism, then the line between the two is quite fluid indeed. Some trotskyists who gravitated towards such views eventually went over to a more or less uncritical embrace of progressive-looking nationalism (Cuban, Nicaraguan, Grenadan) and gave up on the whole idea of permanent revolution and its insistence on independent working class and socialist organization within the national struggle (this was the evolution of the American SWP).

I make these points because they underline how important it is to resist simple formulas when assessing national struggles. There is no general law or dynamic of national struggles today (and there never has been). One of the errors of many marxists has been to search for one rather than undertaking the much more important task of developing a concrete analysis of particular national struggles at a given historic conjuncture. With this warning in mind, I want shortly to turn to some preliminary considerations on national struggles in the Canadian state. But first, I want to point out some of the areas in which the marxist account of nationalism remains weak so that we might be aware of areas of some of the work that remains to be done in developing a more thorough and comprehensive understanding of nationalism in the modern world.

Part Three: Problems for the Marxist Theory of Nationalism

10. One of the great strengths of Marx's views on Ireland and Lenin's writings on the national question is that they provide a way of (critically) supporting national struggles of oppressed peoples without championing any kind of nationalism per se. This makes their legacy a most important one. But having said this, we must acknowledge that neither Marx nor Lenin really provide us with a theory for understanding the biggest problem we face in this area: the incredible power and persistence of nationalism and national identifications. For, rather than being short-lived or episodic "diversions" from a more powerful class consciousness, nationalism has dominated and continues to dominate the thinking of the vast majority of working class and oppressed peoples. I do not claim to have all the answers as to why this is so. But let me outline four partial explanations that deserve to be explored and developed.

11. The first issue is what might be called the attractions of citizenship. Remember that early working class movements were formed in circumstances where the vast majority of working people did not have the

vote. For that reason, the struggle for democratic rights, especially the right to vote, figured prominently in socialist agitation. Indeed, socialism—usually known by the name social democracy—often appeared to be largely about the inclusion of the working class within capitalist democracy. As a result, a whole historic tradition developed in which capitalist democracy was criticized simply for not being inclusive enough. As a result, the question of the form of capitalist political power—the bourgeois nation-state—and its inherent problems (bureaucratism, national definitions of citizenship, separation of economic and political power) were rarely raised. This meant that working class movements generally sought the full rights of citizenship within capitalist democracy. One cannot deny the importance of this struggle. After all, the struggle for bourgeois democratic rights, the battle to be considered a full member of society is of fundamental significance. But in the process, working people often became attached to this as a sort of ideal; they had little connection to political traditions which put forward a profound criticism of the inherent limits and biases of liberal democracy itself. Thus, a basically liberal-capitalist definition of rights and citizenship sunk very deep historic roots in working class movements—one in which people are treated as utterly separate entities called “individuals” who come together in competitive economic markets and who are regulated according to laws which recognize only the rights of individuals (and their “families”) who are largely buyers and sellers of goods and services (all of which is one aspect of what is often referred to as “reformism”). It has to be said that marxists have paid little attention to the ideological power of these notions of citizenship, often preferring simply to focus on “corrupt” or “sell-out” leaders who betrayed the socialist movement. If we are to develop a serious alternative to reformism, however, it will be necessary not just to denounce “bad leaders,” but, more important, to find ways of advancing a critique of capitalist democracy and citizenship that acknowledges the importance of rights while advancing a critique of their limits which resonates with the experiences of working class people, rather than sounding like a set of crude slogans.

12. Related to this issue is a second problem: the state-centered versions of socialism that have dominated the 20th century. Across a whole historic period most of the left presented state ownership as the social and economic essence of socialism. Marx had put the entire emphasis of his critique of capitalism on what he called the social relations of production,

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by which he meant the relationships of domination, control, alienation and exploitation that dictate how wealth is produced in a capitalist society.

What followed from this emphasis was the idea that socialism entails the development of new social relations of production based upon dis-alienated forms of control and self-management of production by working people. Workers' control of production and new institutions of popular self-government are at the heart of such a perspective.

Especially during the era in which the Stalinized Communist Parties dominated the socialist left (1925-1980 or so), these commitments were lost. State ownership of the means of production and a "planned economy" were said to be the essence of the new society. Despite their best intentions, many trotskyists also placed the emphasis here. As a result, the idea that state ownership is inherently progressive, indeed that it is inherently socialist, became very widespread on the left. This contributed to the "state-centered" politics in which the ideas of state regulation and state planning were elevated to a prime position in socialist propaganda. One consequence of this was that the inherently oppressive nature of the nation-state was rarely broached. In fact, to this day, many on the left continue to push such a view, seemingly oblivious to the mass hostility to centralized state bureaucracies that has developed—for good reason—among working class people in huge parts of the world.

What is entirely lost in such "state-centered" socialist politics (what we would call socialism from above) is that the nation-state arose with the development of capitalism as bourgeois classes sought integrated national markets with a uniform system of laws and taxes, a common language, a unified government, and a national army to defend and advance their claims against "foreign" capitalists (and to put down domestic revolts when necessary). Also lost is a strong sense of the inherently bureaucratic form of bourgeois democracy (emphasized by Marx in *The Civil War in France*).

Finally, state-centered versions of socialism tend to lose sight of the fact that as national structures and institutions nation-states perpetuate the division of the world into "us" (who belong to a given nation) and "them" (foreigners, outsiders, etc). The consequence of state-centered socialism, then, has been to reinforce nationalism at the expense of internationalism.

13. This brings me to a third issue: the politics of space. Marxists have been curiously indifferent to questions of space, especially to the way in which peoples' identities have spatial and geographic points of reference. Yet, personal memories invariably have spatial dimensions: we think of ourselves as having been born in a certain place, having lived, grown up, worked, gone to school in various places, and so on. Now, for most of human history, relationships to space have had nothing to do with belonging to a nation. But capitalism has stamped our sense of belonging, our need for community with others, with national forms. In truth, people belong to groups with both smaller and larger spaces. But capitalism constructed what Benedict Anderson has described as "imagined communities." Nations are thus in part imaginary constructions—organized around symbols like flags, anthems, national colours, and largely artificial myths and histories—which connect with administrative units called nation-states. But it would be naive to think that these imagined communities do not exercise a real power of attraction for people. We need only observe phenomena like the Olympic Games to realize the attractive power of these imagined communities. Millions of people who have never met Silken Laumann or Donovan Bailey nevertheless act as if they are "their own flesh and blood," glorying in their victories, agonizing in their defeats.

I say this not because I think there is anything inevitable about national identifications; on the contrary. But unless revolutionary socialists understand that such identifications speak to a real need—the desire to belong to a community with others, to have some sense of common purpose—then we will underestimate the sense in which mass socialist movements of the future will have to help develop truly internationalist feelings of community that connect with both local and global experiences. It will not be enough to have a "vanguard" which tells people that nationalism is their enemy; it will be necessary to create new experiences of space based upon forms of organization that create new solidarities and new identifications, forged in common struggle, that go beyond the nation-state.

14. And this brings me to my fourth point: the rise of nationalism in the age of globalization. Economic globalization is all the rage; barely any corner of the globe has been untouched by the dramatic ascendancy of transnational corporations (TNCs) and global financial markets. Most

nation-states are economically smaller than the world's largest TNCs; and world money markets move sums around every day that massively exceed the holdings of any central bank (see my article "The End of the Nation State?", *New Socialist* 3, May-June 1996). Yet these global economic entities are wreaking havoc on peoples lives: factories close, whole communities are destroyed, social services are savaged as communities' hospitals, schools, post offices and so on disappear, all in the name of globalization.

In such circumstances, nationalism often becomes the first and most accessible means for understanding and resisting these forces. However remote a national government might appear, it's a lot closer and a lot more tangible than some TNC or an electronic global money market centered in cyberspace. And it's more likely to listen to a group of angry farmers or laid-off miners than is the head of the World Bank or one of the world's most powerful corporate executives. Yet, demanding that the national state protect "us" against global capital slides almost inevitably into seeing the problem in national terms. Foreigners and things foreign become the enemies of our security and well-being. Nasty and unscrupulous politicians quickly become adept at fuelling and manipulating such sentiments. So, US autoworkers engage in bashing Japanese cars, disaffected youth in Germany get pulled into firebombing hostels full of Turkish migrant labourers, people in California support propositions cracking down on "illegals" from Mexico, English-speaking Canadians denounce "greedy" Quebeckers, Serbs, Croats and Muslims are pitted against one another in the former Yugoslavia, Hutus and Tutsis find themselves in bloody conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi—the list goes on.

It's no accident then, that in a period of fierce global restructuring of capital, old and new nationalisms are rearing their heads—and many of them in a most virulent and violent fashion. Rarely do we hear the clarion cry of the anti-colonial nationalisms of the 1950s and '60s since most of these have been thoroughly discredited by their failures to meet hopes for development. Instead, nasty, divisive, increasingly ethnic nationalisms are being promoted in one part of the world after another. And in a context of anger and despair, especially where the left and the labour movement appear to be spent forces, right-wing ethnic nationalisms quite often seize the political initiative. Again, there is nothing inevitable about any of this.

But it would be foolhardy to underestimate the upsurge of nationalism we are witnessing in this era of globalization. And it should remind us that the

need for socialists to underline their internationalist commitments is perhaps more pressing than at any time since the bulk of the left embraced nationalism in 1914. To do so, we will need to take up the important insights offered by the tradition of socialist internationalism and develop them more thoroughly in relation to questions like the politics of space, nation-states and economic globalization, and the critique of the form of the bourgeois nation-state from the perspective of socialism from below.

Part Four: National Questions in Canada Today

15. Canada is a product of the imperialist expansion of the European powers. Established as a British “colonial settler state,” Canada is based upon the domination, oppression and subordination of aboriginal peoples and of the French settlers who populated New France and other parts of the Canadas conquered by Britain in 1759. Canada was founded upon the oppression of these groups; for this reason Canadian politics is shaped by two main national struggles, those of native peoples (or the “First Nations”) and of the Quebecois.

16. Because native peoples were economically marginalized, politically disenfranchised, and horribly oppressed by the apartheid policies of the Indian Act, they have had a difficult time finding levers by which to exercise political pressure. It was largely in the midst of the explosion of social protest in the 1960s and early 1970s that politically organized native movements began to make their mark. Inspired in part by groups like the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement in the US, native activists began to engage in much more militant and concerted forms of struggle (see “Red Power,” an interview with Howard Adams in *New Socialist* 2, March-April 1996).

Since the upheavals of the late 1960s and early ‘70s, there has been an effort to professionalize the native movement, to make it a more conventional lobbying effort. At the forefront of this shift has been the leadership of the Assembly of First Nations. Much of the focus of the AFN has been on constitutional change, in particular the attempt to get recognition of the “inherent right to self-government” of native peoples enshrined in the Constitution Act. It is vital that socialists support this demand. Given that native peoples never consented to being governed by

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the Canadian state, their inherent right to choose whatever form of self-government they desire must be acknowledged and defended.

At the same time, we must recognize that a whole layer of native activists (many of them of a younger generation than the AFN leaders) rejects the focus on constitutional change and land claims through the courts that dominates mainstream native politics. These activists have been in the forefront of direct action forms of civil disobedience like road and highway blockades and occupations of historic native lands of the sort that we've seen at Oka, Gustafsen Lake and Ipperwash. It is vital that socialists, while defending the demands of a group like the AFN, also try to organize solidarity with these more militant forms of native struggle. We must make it clear that we support militant native self-organization and self-activity and that we blame the colonialist practices of the Canadian state for any violence which occurs.

16. The national question which has dominated official politics in Canada is that of the Quebecois. This has to do with the fact that, wanting to profit from the agricultural and commercial development of New France, and wanting French farmers to continue working their land, the British colonizers were not interested in displacing the people of the colony. While native peoples were increasingly pushed to the margins of economic life, things were more complicated with the French settlers. Initially, the British tried to suppress the Catholic Church and the French language. They soon realized, however, that they would need an alliance with the French elite—landlords, clergy, and a few capitalists—if they were to govern the area effectively. As a result, while locking New France into a relationship of colonial domination by British-appointed authorities, they also made concessions: tolerance of the French language, the Catholic Church and the French legal code. When the push came in the 1860s to integrate the British colonies in North America, Quebec was granted a further concession: restoration of its own provincial legislative assembly. As a result, a political entity was created (the province of Quebec) which housed the second largest provincial population in the country, a vast majority of whom were francophone, and which was home to some of its most important centers of agriculture, manufacturing and commerce. This meant that grievances from Quebec had usually to be negotiated by the predominantly English-speaking ruling class.

While nationalist pressures regularly emanated from Quebec (and could become quite frustrating for them at times of war), so long as the Catholic

Church dominated cultural and political life, Quebec nationalism did not seem especially threatening to Canada's ruling class. That changed in the 1960s as the rise of a secular middle class and a new labour movement broke the stranglehold of the Church and launched a new kind of nationalist movement (which crystallized ultimately in the creation of the Parti Quebecois). The Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, the October crisis of October 1970 (in which the Trudeau government used the army and police state measures to crush the Front de la Liberation du Quebec), the militant general strike of 1972, and the election of a PQ government under Rene Levesque in 1976 all combined to move the "Quebec question" to the forefront of political debate. And there it has remained for a period of thirty years. Moreover, the alleged "obsession" of federal politicians with resolving the Quebec question has been exploited by right-wing politicians to suggest that in the midst of hardship for most, Quebecers are getting "special treatment."

17. In the first instance, the attitude of socialists should be clear enough. Quebec is an oppressed nation within the Canadian state. Initially conquered by British imperialism, it continues to be denied the democratic right to determine its own future. Socialists thus defend Quebec's right to self-determination including its right to secede from the Canadian confederation (this does not mean that we accept the right of the Quebec government to deny that same right to the native peoples in its midst). But from here, things get more complicated. For, as I pointed out above, there is no general rule or universal law which instructs socialists as to whether we should advocate or oppose separation or secession. To sort that out, we need a concrete analysis.

Basically, the socialist attitude should probably be something like Marx's was on Ireland. If a powerful, united workers' movement shows the capacity to address problems of national oppression, then national separation is unnecessary. Marx thought this was the case in Britain during the period of Chartism which peaked in 1848. But, if chauvinism towards the oppressed nation becomes a continual means of blocking the development of independent working class politics, then it makes sense to advocate independence as a way of removing a national antagonism that holds back left-wing politics.

Whatever one might say about the past, I believe a good case can now be made that in the aftermath of the debate over Bills 101 and 172 (Quebec's recent language laws), over the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords, and with the enormous hostility that has been generated in much of the country to the idea of granting Quebec recognition as a "distinct society," anti-Quebec chauvinism now functions in much the same way anti-Irish chauvinism did in the 1860s: as a way of binding English-speaking workers into an identification with their rulers and the traditions of the English-Canadian state. All attempts to deal with national demands coming from Quebec are soon met with a powerful chorus of opposition from a considerable portion of ordinary English-speaking people. In the midst of such anti-Quebec outcries, a national identity uniting working people with the traditions of the Canadian state is affirmed. For these reasons, it probably makes sense for socialists in the Canadian state to advocate the secession of Quebec. We can address questions like advocating a new "equal and free confederation"—which Marx proposed in the case of England and Ireland—once we sort out our stand on the first issue.

I should make clear at this point that my suggestion that socialists should probably advocate Quebec independence has nothing to do with thinking that a new Quebec state would be inherently progressive, or that the struggle for it would inevitably unleash a radical social movement. On the contrary, unlike some of the comrades in *Gauche socialiste*, I think that an independent bourgeois Quebec achieved without a massive social upheaval is very much a possibility. As a result, an independent Quebec state with immigration controls, racist practices and hostility towards native peoples seems to me quite possible. Indeed, I think that Gs comrades err when they suggest that the bourgeois nationalists in Quebec (like Lucien Bouchard) don't really want a sovereign state and that socialists can and should try to outflank them by being more sovereigntist than the "sovereigntists". I think, in fact, that such a position runs the risk of being insufficiently critical of Quebec nationalism and of the nation-state as a political form.

18. One further point should be made with respect to national questions in Canada. Much of the left which addresses these issues came up in an era when immigrants and people of colour had not yet organized politically. Often, socialists talked as if there was an homogenous entity called "English Canada" in a way which seemed blind to the multi-ethnic, multi-racial character of the country. As a result, the systematically racist character of the Canadian state was often underplayed or ignored. This is

something that should be redressed. Socialists should not “privilege” the native and Quebec questions in a way that seems to ignore the racial oppression of Canada’s peoples of colour. For this reason, a consistent commitment to anti-racism must go hand in hand with a principled commitment to the rights of aboriginal peoples and the Quebecois to self-determination.

19. National questions are likely to be of even greater importance in world politics in the years ahead. Revolutionary socialists have an obligation to try to find ways of dealing with the debates and crises that these create. This will not always be easy. While using some of the historic contributions of past marxists to guide our analyses, we must be on guard against dogmatic and simple-minded responses which fail to do justice to the complexity of the issues involved. And while supporting the right of oppressed nations to determine their future, we must never lose sight of one of the vital features of socialism from below: its commitment to a world community without nation-states.

Notes Towards a Socialism for the Times³⁵¹, by Alan Sears, 6/26/2011

The article looks at how neoliberalism has come to dominate the world ideologically, despite being wildly unpopular among the general population. After 30 years of restructuring, the idea that neoliberal capitalism is the only viable way to organize production has become deeply ingrained among people in many parts of the world. Alan says “The compass of socialism shows the way to another possible world” - a world where democracy is a central aspect of life, not just a pretty word used in speeches and then forgotten. He writes about the necessity of a new socialism that is grounded in current struggles for reforms, and how through these struggles it can point toward “new forms of democratic participation that challenge the limits and, ultimately, the existence of existing institutions.”

The article also talks about how the new Left will have to be different from those that have come before it. One major change to the way it organizes and communicates will be technological. Mobile communication and social networking have already shown themselves to be important tools for grassroots movements. The “Arab Spring” is a perfect example of

³⁵¹ <http://bit.ly/NSSears>

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people using technology to help spread their struggles and ideas despite the best efforts of those in power to isolate and demoralize them. The recent economic crisis has left us with the best chance in recent history to create a movement for "a socialism for the times." The seemingly endless general strikes and riots over austerity measures in Greece, the struggle over collective bargaining in Wisconsin, and the huge protests over unemployment in Spain are hopefully just the beginning. Alan's focus on the participation of all people, and on constant debate and reflection to create a dynamic and egalitarian socialist movement give me great hope. I strongly suggest you take the time to read through this article, which was originally published in issue 63 of the magazine New Socialist in 2008.

Jacob Doiron is a member of Toronto New Socialists.

Notes Towards a Socialism for the Times By Alan Sears

These are strange days indeed for socialists and all those who fighting for a better world.

On the one hand, the neoliberal project of slashing social programmes and deregulating the economy while increasing the repressive power of the state seems to be ideologically exhausted and increasingly unpopular. On the other hand, the possibility of any alternative seems literally unthinkable. There is widespread cynicism about the dominant ideas, yet virtually no discussion of other perspectives.

The major parties in electoral systems around the world have completely aligned themselves with neoliberalism, with only the smallest number of exceptions such as Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador, where the parties in question are linked to insurgent social movements.

In the Canadian state, the NDP, Liberals, Conservatives and Bloc Québécois completely agree that neo-liberalism is the only game in town; the differences between them come down to minor disputes about how to play it out.

The labour movement has reconciled itself with neoliberalism and lean production (which uses just-in-time methods to eliminate "waste," and new models of teamwork to make workers partners in productivity), with the deal between the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) and the giant

auto-parts firm Magna standing as an important milestone in a long-term process of adaptation and partnership with the employers and the state. Social movements are, in general, at a low ebb, in most cases using only the most passive strategies to fight for the most realizable changes within the dominant framework.

There is a remarkable consensus across the political spectrum around a set of ideas that is increasingly unpopular. The results of 30 years of capitalist restructuring are in, and the devastating toll is clear. Working-class people are living with ever-greater insecurity and more are facing poverty with ever fewer resources. On a global scale, people face greater barriers to mobility while corporations and investments face fewer limits. The environmental threats to our health and that of the planet are ever-increasing in this era of unbridled capitalism. The attempts by Bush, Harper and others to convince us that our increasing insecurity results from “terror” to be combated by imperialist war in Afghanistan and Iraq has been highly unsuccessful.

“The Richest of the Rich, Proud of a New Gilded Age” was a headline in the New York Times on July 15, 2007. The article pointed out that the current concentration of wealth in the hands of a tiny ultra-rich minority has not been seen since the late 1800s and early 1900s. Meanwhile, at the other end of the income scale we are living through a period of appalling poverty and dislocation, marked by a shocking increase in inequality locally and globally.

This sounds a lot like the world Marx described in the Communist Manifesto, which was written in the mid-1800s when class polarization was particularly visible. Many of the working-class gains that might have created the illusion that class divisions were eroding – such as the welfare state, higher working-class wages and secure union contracts (at least for some) – have been swept away.

Yet socialism is not, at this point, rising from the ashes. This is a time when the relevance of socialism seems almost self-evident, and yet it is, in practical political terms, more marginal now than at any time during the 20th century. We need to understand more about this contradiction.

Why does socialism matter?

One response to this contradiction would be to say that socialism is over and will not be relevant to future freedom struggles. But there is a lot to lose if we casually write socialism off. Socialism points beyond capitalism, towards another way of organizing human life based on unleashing our creative capacities through genuine democratic control of the key productive resources of society. The compass of socialism shows the way to another possible world, even if it is way over the horizon and invisible from our present location.

This orientation beyond the current power structure means that socialism provides a unique perspective for mapping capitalist society. It allows us to see the everyday world we are familiar with in dramatically new terms, bringing to light aspects of life, work and politics that we usually take for granted because they seem fixed and unchangeable.

At the moment, for example, the US economy seems to be in recession and far worse times are likely in the near future. From within the system, this seems to be the action of impersonal market forces shifting rather like a sharp change in the weather when a storm front approaches. It is futile to protest against a coming snow storm as it is not (at least in any simple and direct way) the result of human actions, and therefore we cannot really change it. Daily life under capitalism convinces us that market forces are much like the weather, something that happens to us that is not the result of human actions and not subject to change.

The economy, however, is very different than the weather in that it is made up of relations between people and interchanges between people and nature. Ultimately, it is human activity within a particular framework of social relations that lead to economic upturns and downturns, even if the patterns are very complex. The huge bubble of subprime mortgages in the United States, for example, was the result of financial institutions trying to make big profits out of the housing needs of lower income households in an environment where the financial system was bulging with cash from the mega-profits of the very rich and state regulations were very lax.

Socialism provides us with a perspective that allows us to see the ups and downs of the economy as part of a system of human relations that can be swept away and replaced. If we take the limits of capitalism as the

horizons of possibility for human experience, then we see these ups and downs as the product of market forces that are not subject to human decisions. Most ways of looking at the world, including many that are critical of social injustices, take capitalism for granted and therefore seek change within that dominant framework.

Right now, when socialism is highly marginalized, many activists and theorists suggest that freedom struggles should concentrate on finding solutions at the local scale, leaving aside any big projects for transforming the system. This ultimately means limiting the horizons of change to what is possible within capitalist social relations, as this power structure will be there until it is deliberately overturned.

Socialism provides tools for unlocking our dreams of real freedom by connecting our activism and our analysis of injustice to an orientation towards other possible worlds. It allows us to connect these dreams to a map of the power structure of capitalist society that reveals the ways it can be overturned. Specifically, its map reveals that the people who labour every day in factories, offices, schools, mines and a variety of other settings have the potential to collectively and democratically seize control of their workplaces, which taken together make up the key productive resources of society.

This vision of socialism rests on the conception of overturning the capitalist system through the active and democratic mobilization of the mass of the working class, rather than liberation being the act of some small elite. This perspective highlights strategies for change that challenge the dominant power structure through building counter-power from below.

This counter-power is necessarily built within capitalist society, fighting for immediate improvements and reforms, yet is always oriented towards the creation of new forms of democratic participation that challenge the limits and, ultimately, the existence of existing institutions. The orientation towards building a counter-power makes a big difference in the way we conduct ourselves in everyday freedom struggles in capitalist society, which at key insurgent moments flow together to open the possibility of a broader social transformation. Rather than simply signing petitions, appealing through the courts or voting for someone to represent us, we

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build a counter-power when people become active in their own cause: occupying, striking or taking demands to the streets.

Underlying this conception of building a counter-power is a great confidence in everyday people, the mass of the working class and oppressed people, to act creatively in defining and fighting for their interests, ultimately taking power with their own hands. Too many emancipatory theories are ultimately dismissive of the mass of the population, seeing them as bought into the system or merely passive, to be liberated only through the activity of a heroic minority.

This orientation towards building a counter-power that is ultimately capable of overturning capitalism means challenging the dominant ideas of democracy within capitalist societies. Capitalism is not inherently democratic, but on the contrary is based on monopolization of the key productive resources in society and the exploitation of the majority by the small minority in control. The whole system of government is distorted towards keeping this minority in control and meeting their insatiable need to profit from the labour of workers.

Democracy was not a gift from above, but was won from below through hard struggles by workers, people of colour, women, lesbians and gays, aboriginal and colonized peoples. Socialism thrived as part of these struggles for full citizenship, both in the limited form of winning the vote and in the wider form of gaining access to certain legal and social rights, such as formal freedom from discrimination and access to certain health, education and social programmes.

The limited form of democracy and citizenship that was won from below is important, but we must also be aware of how narrow it is. As long as a small minority continues to have dictatorship over the key productive resources in society, democracy and equality will be limited and formal. We have no real democratic control over what is produced, how it is produced, how work is distributed or how knowledge is disseminated. Further, citizenship is necessarily exclusionary, granting limited rights to some while stripping others of any rights.

Building a counter-power requires that we commit ourselves to a far richer, more active and more inclusive form of democracy. There is a very real democratic process that takes place when people mobilize and take the streets, picket or occupy. This kind of democracy is often dismissed as

“mob rule” or “violence” by defenders of the system who would confine us to voting once every four years and occasional polite, symbolic, and legal protest. Socialists should value every little bit of freedom that struggles from below have managed to eke out of the capitalist system, yet point to much richer understandings of democracy grounded in collective activity.

The orientation towards building a democratic counter-power to challenge the fundamental basis of the capitalist system also means that socialism has a universalistic understanding of emancipation, potentially bringing real content to the slogan “an injury to one is an injury to all.” People seeking freedom have often been drawn to this conception that liberation struggles are deeply interconnected so that no one can be truly free when others are bound in shackles of unfreedom.

Actual socialist movements have often failed the test of this high standard of universalism and solidarity, leaving many feeling betrayed. Even if socialist movements have often failed to meet their own standards in this area, socialism can provide an important basis for a universalistic and transformative understanding of freedom.

Marginalization of Socialism

Socialism may have a great deal to offer us in our struggles for freedom, but it has very little weight these days. Socialism is marginalized in part because it is seen as a colossal failure. Indeed, it is possible in the current climate to casually dismiss socialism by pointing to the collapse of the Soviet bloc, the dramatic erosion of the welfare state and the end of “Third World” economic and political strategies to regulate interactions with global capitalism. Part of this casual dismissal is the idea that socialism not only failed to make a better world, but actually made things worse.

If socialism really has failed on a world scale, then any attempt to revive it might seem to be the project of relatively small numbers of leftover cultish dogmatists deliberate in their ignorance of this ugly legacy. Those of us who want to argue for a renewal of socialism need to start with patient discussion of what we mean by socialism and how we explain the legacy of 20th century socialisms.

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Socialism has come to mean a lot of different things over the past 150 years. US socialist Hal Draper clarified debates about what we mean by socialism tremendously by distinguishing between ideas of socialism from below and from above. Socialism from above is associated with increased state and party control over the society in the name of the people, while socialism from below is based on the collective and democratic seizure of power by the mass of the working class with their own hands.

Much of the “failure of socialism” is associated with socialism from above strategies that sought to use state power to moderate the impact of capitalism on the population and/or run the economy directly. This was true of the one-party forms of rule associated with the Soviet bloc and Maoist China as well as with the electoralist social democratic parties in the West. The neoliberal restructuring of capitalism since the 1970s has specifically squeezed out the space for certain forms of state regulation of the economy associated with the welfare state, the imposition of conditions on corporations and the nationalization of property.

It is a common assumption that socialism means state control, one-party rule and vicious restrictions on free expression. This ignores the long history of bitter struggles against authoritarian socialism from above waged from various socialism from below perspectives. The casual dismissal of socialism and the idea it has failed is being used as a wedge to separate us from our collective memories of struggle, particularly obliterating the libertarian forms of socialism associated with vibrant ideas of real democracy and freedom.

The marginalization of socialism today is not only the result of the failure of certain forms of socialism from above, but also the overall weakening of our counter-power, and the infrastructure of dissent that supports it, since the 1970s. In recent issues of this magazine, I argued that 20th century socialism thrived as part of a rich and varied infrastructure of dissent that helped activists develop capacities for communication, analysis and solidarity. The struggles for basic democratic, labor and social rights developed key elements of community through a variety of shared political, cultural, educational and social spaces, ranging from sustained opposition movements within unions to left-wing cultural spaces.

Many of these spaces are now gone, due not only to a decline in the level of activism but also important changes in working-class life and work. Around us we find only the faintest echo of the forms of community that

sustained earlier mobilizations and nurtured socialist consciousness. We must begin to understand and orient ourselves around the new forms of infrastructure of dissent that emerge with new rounds of struggle. Socialist organizing is not a substitute for rebuilding the infrastructure of dissent, but can and must be oriented around making a contribution to that broader process of rebuilding our collective dissent capacities.

Socialism and the Next New Left

There is every reason to believe that there will be new waves of struggle, given the unpopularity of neoliberalism and the toll that capitalist restructuring has taken on our lives. The mobilizations will see the emergence of the next New Left, as the old Left inherited from the past is oriented around a particular configuration of work, community and politics that no longer exists in the same way. New Lefts have emerged before as movements face challenges that the tools answered by previous left formations do not fully answer, for example in the insurgent wave of revolt after World War I or in the massive mobilizations during and after 1968.

One of the challenges facing the next New Left will be rebuilding the infrastructure of dissent that develops our collective capacities to express, analyze and act together. Examples of modest rebuilding abound in the struggles of our times. CAW workers used the mobility of contemporary communications technology to build a whole new generation of flying pickets that were able to stop scabs from getting into Navistar in Chatham during the strike there in 2002. The meat packers strike in Brooks, Alberta in 2005 provided a taste of the new forms of anti-racist solidarity that need to be built as genuinely inclusive forms of fighting working-class organization are being built. The global justice movement of the period 1999-2001 reminded us that demonstrations need not be simply symbolic events, but organized forms of organization for collective activism that could actually make things happen.

Socialist ideas can make an important contribution to rebuilding these capacities, providing an important orientation beyond capitalism towards other possible worlds. Socialism at its best offers a series of tools for fluid action and analysis rather than a single correct path.

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If we are to think socialism anew for these times, we cannot be bound by the versions of socialist organizing that emerged through the 20th century; nor can we casually dismiss the experience of 150 years of struggle for freedom. We need a new socialism that is genuinely transformed by its encounters with feminism, anti-racism, queer liberation and ecological movements, so that it is true to the idea of universal emancipation. The struggles of the 1960s and those since have created new standards for activism in the areas of gender, racialization, sexuality and environmental sustainability and a socialism that does not meet these standards will not meet the challenges of these times.

This requires genuine encounter with these movements and the emancipatory perspectives that emerge from them. To begin building a socialism for these times, we need to learn from the movements around us and from the critical examination of past struggles. Socialists are often been in a bit of a hurry to teach, and do not spend enough time listening patiently, investigating open-endedly, and learning. The development of a socialism for these times requires collective work of investigation, debate and discussion, which can only happen as we reflect actively on the struggles of the day and those that are just emerging beneath the radar

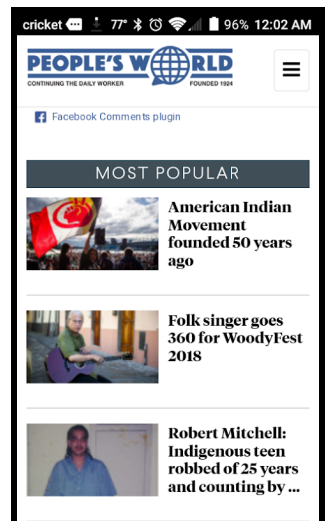


It was while I was a freelance journalist with (*The People's World PW*) that my social journalism thrived. The amazing group of editors there helped flush out my voice with stories I knew needed to be read.

While at PW I was humbled to see my stories time and time again be the most clicked/read stories of the week. For most of my stories had

1000's of hits a day for over 5 days in a row constantly. One week I was the top three stories on their website. I always said, it is the combination of a good nose for a story and the great editing team I shared which was a winning combination.

Mark is currently initiating the League of American Writers, a solid group of left leaning anti-fascist journalists with an eye towards exposing the oligarchy.



Oklahoman Mark Maxey is a Yuchi Indian, enrolled in the Muscogee Nation, and has studied radio/TV/film with an Art minor in college. He is a member of the National Writers Union, UAW Local 1981/AFL-CIO. He's worked as an administrative assistant, petroleum landman, barista, staff writer, paralegal, content producer and graphic designer. He is a lifelong grassroots activist with a passion for justice. He spent six months as a National Data Team volunteer for the Bernie Sanders for President campaign.

<http://www.peoplesworld.org/authors/mark-maxey/>

Blog: <http://www.dharmaokc.wordpress.com>



